Miscreants or Mere Mortals?

Representation of Female compared to Male Politicians in Comments to Australian Online Newspapers:

a Corpus Assisted Discourse Study.

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Frontispiece: a reflection on the difficulties of identifying gender discrimination in social commentary. Cathy Wilcox, *Independent Australia*, 15 October 2012

ABSTRACT

Female politicians in Australia appear to have experienced more severe criticism and more career obstacles than male politicians, while public opinion remains divided over whether males and females in political leadership are treated at all differently. However, effective female presence in government, decided by the voting public, is vital if legislation is to address inequalities and issues pertinent to women. Beliefs and attitudes about women's suitability for political leadership may partly explain the embattled careers of many women

 in politics. Attitude can be uncovered by examining how people are represented in discourse both thematically and in terms of linguistic devices. This study examined comments in online newspapers by members of the public to discover if, and in what manner, female politicians were represented differently than their male counterparts.

Most research into representation of female politicians has examined mass media revealing more negative attitudes toward female politicians and widespread traditional gender stereotyping. However, journalistic representation may reflect a stance imposed by the publishing institution rather than the attitudes of the broader society. Public attitudes have largely been sampled through surveys, which are limited by what respondents choose to reveal. Few studies have examined the opinions of members of the public expressed in authentic, unprompted natural language. Furthermore, the framework of social stratification views public attitudes as shaped by culture, and culture determines the cohorts that may legitimately occupy powerful roles in society. Such attitudes are ideologically based and encoded in linguistic choices including the construction of a politician through thematic roles, naming, omission, assimilation or individualisation within a group, and how actions are represented. Language of appraisal also provides information on evaluation, descriptive lexicon and its intensity and attitude encoded in traditional literary devices such as metaphor, litotes, metonym and synecdoche.

I examined 19,464 reader comments to on-line newspapers in two publications from 2013 to 2018, totalling 701,883 words. The method of Corpus Assisted Discourse Study was followed

to enable identification of major themes at the corpus level, verified by Logistic Regression. These themes were then examined within comments using qualitative techniques drawn from Appraisal Theory, Sociolinguistic Analysis and Discourse-Historical Analysis.

Results both supported and extended previous research into gender representation, finding male and female politicians were represented differently, stronger reactions being evident toward females in intensified vocabulary, extended arguments and saturated appraisal. Other features included omission, argumentation using abstraction or concrete description as a persuasive device and exaggeration of alleged female misdemeanours, while these were mitigated for males. In contrast with previous research, traditional gender stereotypes did not dominate. Instead, females were delegitimated within their role through association with moral and behavioural characteristics that were cardinally incompatible with political values. I argue that gender-based discrimination against Australian female politicians has been rendered implicit by prominent moral and behavioural censure of gender stereotyping and more frequent use of delegitimising strategies which are commonly applied to all politicians. Such strategies parallel the nature of discrimination against other social cohorts grouped by such features as ethnicity or class, especially when a cohort presents a threat to established hierarchies of status.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that

i.   this thesis comprises only my original work

ii. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other materials used, and

iii. this thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, bibliographies, and appendices.

Karen Dacy

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CHAPTER 1   Introduction

... the reaction to being the first female prime minister does not explain everything about my prime ministership, nor does it explain nothing about my prime ministership... it explains some things, and it is for the nation to think in a sophisticated way about those shades of grey.

Julia Gillard, final speech as Prime Minister, June 26, 2013. (Sales, 2013).

On June 26th, 2013, Prime Minister Julia Gillard delivered the above speech and her Prime Ministership ended, along with the barrage of speculation in the news and in overheard conversations about her alleged wrongdoings and character flaws. From an onlooker's perspective, Gillard's period in office had been tumultuous in terms of public and media judgement, while several other female state and federal MPs had their careers curtailed following accusations of wrongdoing. Hence, the impetus for this research was the observation, shared by many others in Australia, that women in politics appeared to encounter more career obstacles and negative judgement from the press, public and colleagues than their male peers. Even before Gillard stepped down, the immense quantity of criticism of her performance in office appeared discrepant with the achievements of her relatively stable minority government, which passed the highest number of acts per day of any government in Australia's history (Evershed, 2013). Further, Gillard was investigated for reported legal breaches, but no charges were substantiated, even following a Royal Commission[1]. The first question I wanted to answer therefore was, did Gillard's gender work against her in the public's perception, and to what extent was this true for other women whose political careers had been interrupted and controversial?

This thesis examines naturally occurring discourse, which, as Lacan contended, is the site of social change (Bracher, 2018). It attempts to identify the linguistic and thematic origins in public communication of career obstacles faced by women in Australian politics, on the premise that appraisal of public figures in the public domain reflects values, beliefs and ideologies of the society. I have sourced my data from texts by members of the voting public

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[1] An investigation performed independently of government into a matter deemed of high importance to the nation.

as a source of community appraisal. As a study of public attitude, this research may also be instructive of the experience of women leaders in a range of occupations. Leadership roles are of interest due to their potential for executive, or decision-making powers, which may result in more inclusive laws, policies and decisions for women in the broader society.

This chapter first outlines relevant aspects of the status of women to build a case for the need for more women in high-level decision-making roles locally and internationally. It explores the role of discourse in the perpetuation of power relations within society and presents a case for exploring public discourse as a source of information about public attitudes to females in politics. The difficulties experienced by several Australian women in politics are detailed to establish the likelihood of a gender bias in Australian politics, and the adversarial nature of political discourse. The concept of implicit or unconscious expression of attitude in discourse is then introduced to demonstrate how certain linguistic forms can convey ideologies and attitudes which the speaker/ writer is unaware of communicating.

Concepts central to this thesis are defined, including gender; representation, in the sense of how discourse constructs public view of individuals; and leadership. The data source for this research, that of online reader comments to newspapers, is explored and the choice explained, as a plentiful source of public commentary, clearly related to political issues and events. Methods are briefly mentioned and also the significance of this research, as an analysis of candid appraisal of politicians, especially female politicians, expressed in natural language. Aims, scope and organisation of the thesis are then explained.

1.1   The Need for more female leadership in government

The previous century saw massive improvements to the lives of women and the laws and practices which direct them in many countries. However, substantial numbers of Australian women remain economically and socially disadvantaged relative to men, as is demonstrated in figures for housing instability (G. Johnson et al., 2017), lower pay (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2020) and domestic violence (Sutherland et al., 2017). Women continue to be disadvantaged in terms of access to work and suitable childcare (Australian Childcare Alliance, 2017), and are underrepresented in higher status occupations and decision-making roles (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2020).

International research strongly supports the proposition that women in government prioritise legislation relevant to women's wellbeing and at notably higher rates than men. Such laws include areas of women's and families' freedom, psychosocial development, economic security, personal safety (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Taylor-Robinson & Heath, 2003) and health (Leung et al., 2020). In India, women's presence in parliament has been linked to higher educational and vocational achievement among women in their electorate (Priyanka, 2020). The United Nations identified increased female representation in government as urgent and fundamental to improvement of women's welfare (Heintz et al., 2016) but reported that gender equality showed the least progress of all millennium goals, including parity of female numbers in parliament. Most gains internationally were attributable to gender quotas, while men still outnumbered women in politics four to one (Heintz et al., 2016). Trimble (2017) predicts that with current levels of increase in female representation, parliaments are likely to be dominated by men 'for decades to come' (p.5).

Progress in women's issues in Australia, according to Sawer (2013) has mostly been achieved by women's pressure groups, notably the Women's Electoral Lobby, who successfully influenced the Labor government in 1974, to establish the Federal Office of the Status of Women. However, successive conservative governments, which were male-dominated, reduced funding and decommissioned aspects of the original legislation since that time. Conservative governments even drafted legislation to redress alleged biases against men (Sawer 2003, pp.251-8). Given that gains made from outside parliament were rapidly lost, the surest route to improving the lives of women appears to be female representation within parliament. Female representation in the Australian parliament rose sharply from 37% to 44.5 % following the May 2022 election (Hough, 2022). However, most women remain in the less influential Senate (Upper House), where, as Trimble (2016) notes, members' ability to introduce change is restricted. Meanwhile, in the 2020/2021 government, males with ministerial portfolios outnumbered females almost three to one (Commonwealth Government, 2020). Further, even substantial increases in the number of women in parliament can be reversed in changing social and political climates. The substantial rise in female representation of 2022 only returned Australia's international ranking to its 2007 level (IPU, 2022).

Internationally, several authors have stressed the role of local culture and attitudes to female political participation as determiners of electoral success (Badas et al., 2019; Dahlerup, 2011; Inglehart and Norris, 2001; Shah et al., 2019) and more influential than factors such as electoral systems, internal political processes, and broader socioeconomic issues. More worryingly, increasing violence against female politicians has been identified internationally (Krook & Sanín, 2020). Such violence takes many forms: physical, psychological, economic, and sexual, suggesting a possible backlash against women entering governance. While the Australian cultural context is likely to have much in common with other Western democracies, the detail of public attitude toward women participating in governance as well as its strength and depth has only been minimally explored.

1.2 Female politicians in Australia

During Gillard's Prime Ministership, concerns were raised about severe and frequent overt sexism directed at her by the media by high profile public figures including the Governor General, Hillary Clinton (Hillary Clinton condemns 'outrageous sexism' against ex-prime minister Julia Gillard, 2014), and Gillard herself (Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020; Levy, 2014; Markson, 2014; Summers, 2012). Importantly, other forms of criticism directed at Gillard, while equally damaging, were less clearly related to gender. Sydney radio announcer, Alan Jones, famously rebuked the Prime Minister for lateness on air (Rourke, 2012), suggested that she be drowned in a chaff bag and announced that her father had 'died of shame' at her performance in office (Murphy & Coorey, 2012).

Much public and academic discourse underlines the evidently harsher treatment of women than men in positions of political leadership (Baird, 2004; Caro, 2019; Donaghue, 2015; Holland & Wright, 2017; Hunt et al., 2016; Trimble, 2017; Watson, 2019; Williams, 2017; Worth et al., 2016). Women leaders in Australian government have disproportionately experienced 'embattled' and controversial careers, including three out of four past female state premiers; Bligh (Queensland), Kenneally (New South Wales) and Kirner (Victoria), all of whom lost office with the largest swings against the government in the history of their states (Abjornsen, 2011). Further, two female cabinet members, Sussan Ley and Carmen Lawrence, lost their ministerships due to serious legal charges, although both were later acquitted in court. More recently, Labor Minister Emma Husar lost her Ministership when she was accused

of bullying her staff, then subjected to a media campaign which alleged she intimately exposed herself to a colleague, although legal advice to the Labor Party ruled that the claims were baseless and not grounds for her resignation (Grattan, 2018). Also, the President of the Australian Human Rights Commission, Gillian Triggs, was accused of misleading the Senate and asked to stand down (Taylor & Medhora, 2015).

The high incidence of career difficulties among women in politics and governance suggests that women are held to different standards than men. The question therefore arises as to whether Press and community attitudes towards the first female Prime Minister of Australia, as well as her female colleagues were influenced by more covert pre-conceptions about females as less suitable for political leadership.

Public reaction to commentary about women in high offices by both traditional and social media has voiced concerns not only about overt sexism but also invective which was not gender marked. The latter nonetheless appears to be more squarely directed at female leaders than males in sheer proportion to their overall numbers, as supported by Hunt et al. (2016). Past research into mainstream media has revealed its central role in upholding and maintaining power relationships within society. Likewise, mainstream media has been extensively studied as a source of bias against female political leaders, both in Australia and overseas (Appleby, 2015; Baxter, 2017; Donaghue, 2015; Formato, 2018; Johnson, 2015; Kadera, 2013; Mavin et al., 2010; Norris & Inglehart, 2008; Ritchie, 2013; Ross & Ossenbruggen, 2002; Romaniuk, 2014; Sawer, 2013; Shvedova, 2005; Summers, 2012; Trimble, 2016; Wagner, 2020; Williams, 2017). Studies reveal high levels of negativity and personalisation, which is a tendency to report on personal factors such as appearance and family (Donaghue, 2013; Formato, 2018; Thomas et al, 2021; Trimble et al., 2013; Trimble, 2017; Williams, 2017), but such representations do not seem sufficient to engender the quantity and intensity of negativity directed at several Australian female political leaders in the past. A broader examination of discourse in the public sphere which seeks to identify consistent and systematic differences in attitudes to male and female politicians may reveal more about the nature of such discrimination. Further, highly informative sources of public attitudes are likely to be found outside the mainstream media as the latter may express attitudes based on an editorial directive, or the values of a particular media institution.

Sociologist Rosalind Gill, (2007) lamented the neglect of audience in textual analysis of mainstream media, which 'tells us very little about how audiences might actually consume and make sense of different media' (2007, p.16). Research into mass media, Gills states, appears to take the 'hypodermic needle' approach, regarding consumers as passive recipients and reflectors of mainstream media content, while studies of texts by audiences remain scarce (2007, p.17). In the analysis of public perception of women as political leaders, this situation largely persists despite the explosion of opportunities for citizen participation in online discussion and commentary sites.

Therefore, this study seeks to address the paucity of research into the reactions to newspaper content of 'audience,' or reader. Reader comments present a rich source of unsolicited opinions. There have been many studies of misogyny in online social commentary on platforms such as twitter which have gone beyond examining issues of personalisation of female leaders and focused on the important issue of hate speech. However, such studies are more concerned with extreme reactions, rather than quotidian attitudes which may affect women's success in their careers and are of central interest in this research.

1.2.7   Beyond explicit sexism

The research outlined above indicates that negativity towards female politicians is not contained within references to their gender, but rather, accompanies it. Hence investigation limited to traditional gender stereotypes is unlikely to shed substantial light on their recent experiences. In any case, references to traditionally female associations such as appearance, sexuality and family status should not preclude women from participating in governance. It is also necessary to identify ostensibly gender-neutral evaluations of character or behaviour, such as 'honesty' or 'competence', which may, in practice, be more commonly associated with a particular gender, as was found in public commentary surrounding male and female athletes (Yang et al., 2020). Bennister & Heppell (2016) noted the same phenomenon in the criticism aimed at Gillard, which was not clearly gender-related, but appeared to play a powerful role in her reported failure to appeal to the electorate. Furthermore, certain attitudes expressed by citizens may reflect reactions against gender role evolution, rather than against the women in politics themselves. Johnson et al. (2015) describe likely 'inchoate and inexplicit' emotions

arising in society in a time of rapid social change (p.306), fuelling negative attitudes and evaluations of those who break with tradition.

The contribution of gender to public perception of politicians is complicated by the nature of politics, which is highly adversarial and rife with pejorative assessment (Mitchelstein, 2011). It is therefore necessary to demonstrate that those aimed at a particular cohort, in this case, female politicians, are either considerably more numerous or demonstrate distinctive themes or linguistic features. At this point it is relevant to note that I am trained in linguistics, with minimal background in political science. Therefore, although this study investigates within the field of politics, it does not address discussions about political performance, nor evaluate behaviours of political leaders or commenters' assessments of the performance of government. Analysis has endeavoured at all times to compare and contrast the representation of female with male politicians, without reference to political standards or theory.

1.3　　Implicit attitudes and discourse

Beliefs and arguments about behaviours and characteristics of groups or individuals are a form of cultural stereotype (Meyer & Wodak, 2001, p. 35), defined as collection of characteristics that society associates with a particular social cohort. Stereotypes may hold some truth but are incomplete and applied broadly to all members of a cohort, disadvantaging the many individuals to whom such generalisations may not apply (Lippmann, 1965, p.55). As Lippmann stated, 'For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see.' (Lippmann, 1965, p.55). According to Wodak et al. (2001), such cultural stereotypes are acquired through our linguistic environment. These representations frequently present as 'common sense' and hence implicit: their ideological content being received unconsciously (2001, p.110). Such received evaluations, extending beyond the more explicit gender-specific criticisms, could have considerable implications for current and future female candidates seeking high office in government.

Social psychologists, Blair et al. (2015, p. 665), define attitude as a combination of emotion and cognition, in the form of beliefs, and behaviours, including expression through language. Further, due to social pressures against group-based prejudice, self-reported or explicit

attitudes may differ markedly from implicit, or unspoken attitudes, whether conscious or unconscious. Measurement of implicit attitudes has been largely achieved under test conditions to measure subjects' spontaneous associations or through subject priming. However, discourse, in the sense of everyday text and talk is widely recognised as a major vehicle for attitude (Gill, 2007; van Dijk, 1995, 1999a; van Leeuwen, 2008; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p.55).

Van Dijk (1999a, p.145) analysed the origins of racism, a different form of discrimination, concluding that it is a system of social domination with both social and cognitive elements. Local practices of discrimination are informed by more global forces of dominant groups and institutions, which have the means to disseminate their views. Discriminatory views frequently do not reach the conscious level but are informed by socially shared negative representations of out-groups. In a society arranged into a hierarchy of influence and power, it is likely that such unconscious cognitive and social systems operate in representations of gender. As Van Dijk (1999b, p.146) posits, discourse in the sense of text and talk, fulfills a fundamental role in formation of cognitive and social biases. Therefore, an examination of naturalistic language discourse may provide the most appropriate source of implicit biases.

1.3.7   Other forms of social discrimination

In this research, many parallels were found in attitudes to female leaders and other forms of social discrimination. Substantial research into the language of discrimination reveals evident universals in public attitudes toward groups of perceived lower social status such as particular ethnicities (Van Dijk, 1984), religions (Al-Hejin, 2015), gender (Baker, 2014), race (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001) or ability (Grue, 2016). These attitudes appear more related to 'othering' and association with values disfavoured by the broader society. In the current social climate in many western democracies, overt discrimination is disfavoured (van Dijk, 2016) and hence channelled into more implicit forms of criticism that do not necessarily target the distinctive attributes of a particular cohort, but instead undermine by associating a disfavoured group with behaviours and values which are unacceptable in the broader community. Attitudes of public citizens have only been minimally explored and offer considerable insight into public acceptability of female leaders through online public commentary. Van Leeuwen, (2018) notes that all discourse presents a recontextualization of societal attitudes: each communication

event adapting the message to personal beliefs, understandings and circumstances. Hence examination of attitudes toward female leaders in online discussions may yield a more varied and detailed insight than studies of mainstream media into the current state of acceptance of women in politics relative to men in Australia and the reasons underpinning such differences. Further, much can be revealed about attitude from the way that individual leaders are represented in online discussion: topics of interest, evaluations, omissions and arguments forwarded.

1.4 Gender

Before examining the literature on gender and representation, the concept of gender employed in this thesis will be discussed because it influences the interpretation of previous research and the investigation in this study. Butler (2011) contends that aside from typical physiological differences, much of what constitutes the concept of gender is a large cluster of associated behaviours, beliefs and characteristics imposed by society that serve its values and goals. According to (Butler, 2011), gender is in fact imposed by social expectations and pressures, then performed by each individual, each reinforcing the other. Butler states that gender is not what someone is, but largely what someone does (2011) and that violation of imposed standards of gender is met with strong punishment from society, ranging from disapproval to violence. An outcome of this strongly enforced gender dichotomy, as McElhinny, (2003) posits, is that certain human qualities are polarised as either masculine or feminine, emphasising one trait within one gender and understating others. Actions of individuals who do not conform to socially determined gender stereotypes are therefore rendered 'unintelligible' and subject to condemnation and rejection (p.24).

McElhinny (2003) extends the argument against a dichotomous view of gender, relating that early conceptions of gender were based upon analogy with group behaviours among primates and other higher-order animals. Traditional conceptions of maleness and femaleness therefore tend to cluster around aggression and territoriality, and nurturing and social connectedness, respectively. She further explains that as society creates a gendered polarity, institutions themselves such as governance or education are gendered male or female and tend to value those qualities associated with their gender. She gives the example of the police force, which, as a masculine organisation, values aggression and dominance over other

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qualities which might be equally effective, such as communication skills. One important function of the gendering within institutions is to provide access to economic resources, so that institutions of one gender, generally male, have greater access than the other.

One final, important characteristic of gender, according to McElhinny (2003) is that in common with race and ethnicity, gender as an organising principle in society is perceived as fixed and dominating, while other variables such as professional status are frequently undervalued or ignored. Assuming that gender dominates, it is likely to have a measurable effect on how males and females in leadership roles are represented by commenters.

This study adopts Butler's (2011) socialisation/performance model of maleness/femaleness, which is complex, making it necessary to define any key gender-related terms. I have adopted the definitions of Williams and Best (2001, p.196) as consistent with Butler's (2011): conceptualisation and are presented in table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1
Glossary of terms to describe gender related concepts, adapted from Williams and Best (2001, p.196)
.

Sex refers to the usual physiological differences between males and females by which most individuals are dichotomously classified. It also refers to the implication of those differences for reproduction.

Gender is also used to distinguish the male and female members of the human species, but with emphasis on social, rather than biological, factors.

Gender roles refer to the social roles, including familial, occupational, and recreational activities, that men and women occupy with differential frequency.

Sex role ideology designates beliefs concerning appropriate relationships between the genders and varies along a dimension ranging from a traditional, male-dominant or antifemale view to a modern or egalitarian view.

Gender stereotypes refer to the psychological traits and behaviours that are believed to occur with differential frequency in the two gender groups (i.e., men are more 'aggressive,' women are more 'emotional').

Masculinity/femininity (M/F) represents the degree to which men and women have incorporated traits into their self-perceptions that are considered in their culture to be 'womanlike' or 'manlike.'

To Williams and Best's definitions above, I add the following concept, as relevant to the aims and findings of this study, which was adapted from Gidengil & Everitt, (1999):

Gendered mediation refers to representation of individuals by others, typically journalists through a gendered lens so that gender binaries are exaggerated, and individuals are appraised on the extent to which they conform to expectations of gender.

1.5   Representation

Determining any person's attitude toward a topic or person depends not only on a speaker/writer's explicit use of evaluation, but on the information, they choose to relate or omit in their response, any arguments or stories communicated around the topic, the stories themselves and expressions of the commenter's emotion and beliefs. Van Dijk, (1999, p.145) describes attitude as having a basis in cognition, or our understandings of the world. Further, each communication of attitude from one context to another, as from a newspaper article to its reader, reformulates the attitude according to the cognition of the receiver, who will then represent the topic differently in their own communications. To identify and describe such attitudes, it is therefore necessary to examine how topics, or in this case, political leaders, are represented.

From a sociological perspective, representation is the process by which communication turns the real world into concepts, ideas and 'facts', enabling humans to act together in the world. According to Hall (1997), all communication can be seen as a construction, influenced by the topic, the communicator's and receiver's knowledge of the topic, their beliefs and values, the social environment and the broader context of the message. Hence communication, or discourse in the sense of text and talk, is a constantly modified representation of reality (Hall, 1997, p.17). Social psychology explains that representation has a heuristic role, due to the economical nature of human cognition, as it creates mental shortcuts and mental organisation. Therefore, we are able to make generalisations about the presence or absence

of other characteristics in a given representation, depending on our knowledge or beliefs (Baumeister & Bushman, 2014). Van Leeuwen (2008) expands this definition, seeing representations as social practices which create and transmit shared understandings: 'conceptual life [is modelled] after social life, representations of the world after social organization' (p.5). In other words, as Easterly & Ricard, (2011) explain, the social framework determines how people and phenomena will be represented in text and talk, including values-based beliefs of which speakers and hearers are unaware, the result of which is unconscious bias. Kidd, (2015, p.9) reinforces this, asserting that all signs and symbols are value-laden constructions in which no neutral ground exists.

Van Leeuwen (2008, p.6-7) explains two important understandings of the term discourse, one being simply 'text and talk', which, unless otherwise stated, will be the usual sense of the term in this study. The other is the Foucauldian definition of discourse as high-level scripts that 'regulate social practice', which in turn can be reconstructed by studying texts. He also points out that such regulation of social practice can be achieved in many ways: actively, through direct control, or less directly by making beliefs regular or more uniform. Fairclough, (2001, p.21) adds to this the contention that such analysis can connect groups in society to more concrete phenomena, such as institutions and historical events. Hence identifying representation in the study of text has the potential to reveal sets or clusters of social values surrounding public figures and roles, which is central to the purpose of my research.

Furthermore, representations can vary greatly according to social context, and through a wide range of communicative devices. Kidd, (2015, p.9) states that content produced and received demonstrates only one of multiple possible interpretations, or active constructions of reality. Representation may encompass who or what is included and excluded in text, their relative foregrounding or suppression, attitude of the person expressing the representation, and pressures from differing interests. These selections by the communicator can also be understood as a 'frame' of the subject under discussion, much as a cinematographer sets up and frames a scene to establish the relative contribution of the elements within it (Kidd, 2015, p.37). In addition, Kidd draws on the Barthian concept of ideological myths which accompany signs and symbols through their cultural and historical associations (2015, pp. 30 – 32). In sociolinguistic terms, Kidd's descriptions indicate the above outcomes are achieved through metaphoric association, as seen in the slogans aimed at Prime Minister Gillard 'ditch the witch'

(Massola, 2015); 'the gender card', vocatives such as name-calling, intensifiers (*really, very, too*) and the line of argument, or topoi, to use Meyer & Wodak 's (2001) term. In combination, these may be called tropes (Meyer & Wodak, 2001) and frame the subject according to the linguistic choices of the communicator. In linguistic terms therefore, representation cannot be isolated to any parts of speech or syntactic structures, but must depend on the communicator's opinions, knowledge and understanding of the subject, their intentions toward the subject and toward their audience. The study of linguistic encoding of a communicator's relation to their subject has broadly been classified as 'stance' (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012) or 'appraisal' and will be explored in Chapter 2.

In summary, the concept of representation reveals that individuals' and societies' co-construct reality in a constantly evolving, parsimonious, inevitably value-laden manner, whether consciously or unconsciously. Representation is transmitted through text and talk, and likewise text and talk can be studied to reconstruct predominating beliefs and values in a given society. By studying texts provided by members of the public, it is therefore conceivable that beliefs and values about a given group within society can be reconstructed, including both conscious and unconscious associations.

1.6   Leadership

This study examines the representation of political leaders, but the definition of the term 'leadership' is heavily contested and varies widely between different organisations and fields of work (Barrett, 2012), while minimal agreement is found on the relationship between leadership characteristics and electability. The common features of the 28 leaders studied in this research are that they are figures in governance, who are discussed in the public domain and have an executive role within their employment. The majority are in electoral politics in differing positions from Prime Minister to back benchers, but two female and one male high-level executive in independent governing authorities were also included due to the relative paucity of women as ministerial incumbents.

This research does not attempt to define leadership characteristics or to appraise the leadership qualities of the subjects of this study. However, a brief review of literature on leadership, especially in politics, reveals that the concept is ill defined especially in terms of

what makes a good leader. As early as 1948, a review of leadership traits failed to identify any qualities of individuals that were universally preferred, and a trait approach to assessing leadership has been discredited to the present day. In fact, the broad definition of leadership given by The Gale Encyclopedia of Management possibly reflects the lack of agreement between disciplines. It specifies the process of one individual being able to influence others to work toward a particular goal (Leadership Theories and Studies, 2012).

For this study, however, research findings on the qualities of leaders are less important than the commenter's demonstrated beliefs about those leadership qualities. In politics, certain characteristics define the leadership role and are likely to influence the opinions of members of the public about their performance. Morrell and Hartley (2006) detail two broad characteristics common to political leaders. Firstly, they are created by democratic election, to represent the electorate and operate within a legal and governance framework, which they in turn can influence. Secondly, political leaders are vulnerable in tenure of their position due to the selection processes of the electorate and party. The nature of these political processes means that public opinions are likely to be influenced by commenters' political leaning and alignment with a candidate's policies and the candidate's perceived adherence to law and policies. These are all factors which must be considered when analysing the data. The precarity of tenure in their roles may also encourage commenters to evaluate or judge political leaders in order to influence their status in office.

Characteristics which have been traditionally valued in leaders are stereotypically masculine, such as dominance, ambition and self-confidence and may be preferred in times of uncertainty. Eagly & Karau (2002), reported such a preference in business and institutional contexts. In politics, several authors have described the recent rise of the 'strong man' leader as a response to disturbing movements such as terrorism (Rowland, 2018; Gökarıksel et al., 2019; Kivisto, 2019). Hansen & Wills Otero, (2007), in contrast, opine that this archetype has arisen due to the electorate's desire for a forceful leader who can 'cut through' the gridlock of complex political processes to achieve results. Such a preference may indicate a flight to tradition, causing female politicians to be disfavoured relative to males, although traditional masculinity is not demonstrably more effective in leadership roles.

Overall, the little has been determined about public preferences in leaders and their influence on voting behaviour is uncertain (Tingle, 2018). It will be argued that in the case of gender, broader discourses are in operation in terms of group membership and social hierarchies. For this study, the term 'political leader' will entail only the following characteristics: individuals in the public sphere who represent the electorate, the latter having only a limited ability to select who will represent them.

1.7 Source of data: Online Newspaper Reader Comments

Online social commentary is relatively new territory for language analysis with unprecedented scale of data production, opening possibilities for analysis of vast quantities of discourse (Mautner, 2005). For the majority of the history of news media, communication was almost exclusively unidirectional: from journalist to reader (Jucker, 2003, p.130). Hence newspapers and media organisations transmitted their own representation of public events, frequently informed by institutional ideology (Fairclough, 2001; Fuchs, 2017, p. 219; Reisigl & Wodak, 2017: Van Dijk; 2015). Fuchs and Schäfer (2019) note that online social commentary breaches the hitherto sharp divide between personal/private communication and official media channels, and thus may present new insights into citizen values and reception of public issues. This possibility grows stronger over time, as the privileged position of mainstream media to construct and disseminate discourses weakens (Bruns, 2019; Darr et al., 2018). Further, Van Dijk (1999b, p.151) posits that many social attitudes are exchanged and reinforced in 'everyday conversations' because 'ordinary people', unlike powerful elites, do not have access to broader public platforms. Baker et al., (2008) similarly endorse direct examination of public discourse to reveal the impact of mainstream media discourse on its audience. It is highly plausible that online social commentary could fulfill or extend such a role if it is viewed as an extension of the personal voice in everyday conversation.

The last few electoral cycles in Australia have seen a surge in online social commentary around politics in the form of opinion exchange and formal and informal campaigning. Until recently, as Thelwall et al. (2011, p.407) note, little research examined contributions from the public, but investigated social media communications from political leaders and media organisations to the public, or to quantitative measures of political allegiances.

Citizens can participate in online social commentary about politics in several ways: the major ones being social media, online discussion groups and online reader comments to newspapers. Online social commentary may have enhanced capacity to reveal reader beliefs and attitudes due to the relative anonymity of contributors. This minimises loss of face or accountability for opinions expressed (Neurater-Kessels, 2011 p.189) and hence decreases self-censorship. As Nyika, (2014, p.343) notes, writers/speakers are aware of societal expectations of political correctness, inhibiting expression of socially unacceptable views and therefore masking true attitudes. Anonymous social commentary has been found to be more uncivil than named contributions (Paskin, 2010; Santana, 2014). Hence, online social commentary may provide a source of relatively uninhibited expression of opinion on public issues, depending on how representative they are; that is, whether the content is relevant and informative about reader views, whether comments represent a wide variety of individuals, or a few frequent participants.

'Social media' refers to popular mass communication sites such as Facebook or twitter. 'Online discussions groups' are dedicated websites, usually with a clear theme or ideological viewpoint, such as supporting a particular party or an ideological viewpoint, and thus the content may reflect any part of the ideological spectrum from mainstream to the extreme fringe, such as Neo Nazi or Incel movements. Such discussion boards are frequently aimed at a narrow audience, making the breadth of interest of any political discussion board difficult to assess and consequently, the broader implications of any study of discourse in this platform. Many newspapers append a comments section to public articles, to which online readers may respond with opinions and reactions to the article or the general topic. Such reader discussion sites will be called Online Newspaper Reader Comments (ONRCs) and are the source of data for this study for the reasons outlined below.

Several researchers endorse ONRCs as especially democratic (Paskin, 2010; Coe et al., 2014; Nyika, 2014) and a potentially effective way to include several participants in a discussion (Paskin, 2010). Thus, ONRCs potentially yield insights into the beliefs and attitudes of large sectors of the population, if only those cohorts who read and contribute to a particular newspaper. ONRCs primarily consist of commentary on issues and public individuals, political and organisational allegiances being secondary, and hence may provide an opportunity for

diverse opinions of isolated individuals which may either adhere to or challenge the discourse of traditional mainstream media.

ONRCs are moderated for dangerous or socially unacceptable views, thus limiting sampling of extremist views, but wide ranges of opinions are generally tolerated (Wolfgang, 2016). Though readers may respond without reference to other comments, commenter to commenter discussion is frequent (Paskin, 2010). Hence, they represent a complex mixture of individual opinions, negotiation and even inter-commenter conflict. ONRCs present potential insights into how sectors of the community understand and mentally construct issues of public interest, possibly representing 'non expert' opinion with minimal amendment (Koteyko et al., 2013, p.75).

Research into the content of ONRCs reveals characteristics which make them particularly suited to a study of representation of politicians. Kehoe and Gee in a study of 6.2 million comments to the Guardian (2019) note that politics attracts the highest participation of any topic, and that such comments are 'stance-saturated' (p.148 High levels of negativity in ONRCs were found by . Paskin (2010).and   Coe et al. (2014, p.668), the latter noting. that incivility was higher for hard than soft news, for example, 'politics' versus 'lifestyle' (2014, p.668). Two studies noted that uncivil commenters did not contribute regularly, suggesting that online comments express dissatisfaction, rather than engage in debate (Coe et al., 2014; Mitchelstein, 2011). and a cathartic role for ONRCs in breaching the power differential in society (Coe et al., 2014).

Suler, (2004) attributed incivility to 'online disinhibition' noting that social media enables a 'different cluster of affect and cognition, encouraged by relative anonymity, invisibility, asynchronicity, solipsism, [and] minimal presence of authority' (p.321). As unsolicited opinion in a relatively anonymous format, ONRCs may offer enhanced access to co-constructed community views, especially in terms of overall trends, rather than individual opinions. Regarding content, Paskin (2010) found that most ONRCs addressed the narrative of the article, albeit loosely, frequently commenting on public figures in the storyline of the article, which indicates that relevant appraisal of politicians is likely. Further, ONRCs represent opinions from the public sphere in an accessible and plentiful, albeit not exhaustive, form. As

unprompted natural language, ONRCs potentially offer greater candour in opinions and linguistic choices than sampling methods such as surveys.

Research into online social commentary has largely attended to linguistic and stylistic features (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015; Zappavigna, 2011) and establishing baselines for commenter participation and interaction (Kehoe & Gee, 2019). Meanwhile, examination public opinion on political issues has frequently been conducted using machine learning and automated text analysis (Le et al., 2020; Reimer et al., 2020). Such research has predicted public intentions more accurately than surveys and polls for events including Brexit, Trump's election and the 2019 election in Australia (Cockburn & Kontominas, 2019). However, automated language analysis has been criticised for contributing to prediction only and not to explaining the mechanisms generating such outcomes (Athey, 2017; Mariani et al., 2018). Meanwhile, some machine learning researchers have called for integration of traditional line-by-line analysis with automated techniques to enable identification of more granular patterns of expression of opinion, which will potentially advance automated learning (Le et al., 2020; Reimer et al., 2020). To my knowledge, few if any studies have attempted a linguistic analysis of an extensive sample of online citizen communication. Such a study, investigating the effect of a political leader's gender on public attitudes may also reveal mechanisms relevant to other societal cohorts.

News media continues to be widely accessed by Australians, with 73% sourcing their news daily from online versions of established newspapers, (Roy Morgan Research, 2022a). Data for this study were drawn from the two national newspapers with the highest circulation: *The Australian*, a centre-right newspaper, and *The Guardian* (Australian Edition) which is centre-left (Mediabias/fact check, 2022).

One challenge of using online reader discussion is that data is regularly archived. Hence, Gillard's experiences, and the public reaction to them, provided the impetus for this thesis, but the data was frequently inaccessible. However, other analogous events involving female leaders have occurred, which similarly polarised public attitude. For this reason, my research cast a broader net into women in political leadership, including a range of politicians but also other public figures in governance such as Gillian Triggs, immediate past President of the Australian Human Rights Commission and, Sally McManus, President of the Australian Council

of Trade Unions To provide a balance of roles across genders, one prominent male figure in governance was also included: Justin Gleeson, the Solicitor General.

1.8   Significance of this Research

Considerable research has examined representation of women in politics and / or high public office by the media in terms of traditional gender framing and the associated implications that femaleness is not compatible with political leadership. Little research has examined the related field of gender-mediated discrimination, where appraisal of women is more negative not only because of associated gender role characteristics but for their gender alone. Further, this study has the potential to identify commonly occurring themes in gender-mediated discrimination and the linguistic devices used to express such appraisal. Such knowledge is a critical step in addressing discrimination against Australian women in politics and may have applications in other nations or other occupations.   Considerable evidence exists for disproportionately negative reactions to female participation in fields as diverse as online gaming (Gamergate) (Salter & Blodgett, 2012); modelling: (Moss, 2014); sport (Creedon, 2014), the medical professions (Holroyd-Leduc & Straus, 2018) science (Shannon et al., 2019) law (Blanck et al., 2021) and engineering (Rosser, 2018). The main unifying factor appears to be success or notoriety in public life.   Hence this study potentially adds to knowledge of current representations of females in the public sphere.

To conclude, it is evident that Australian women leaders in politics have experienced difficulties in their careers beyond those of their male counterparts. The source Such difficulties may lie may be identifiable in community attitudes, expressed in community discourse. A substantial body of literature exists on the role of the mainstream press in promulgating particular representations of female politicians. Such representations, while doubtlessly influential, may illustrate more about the positions of particular social institutions than that of the community. Online public commentary presents a rapidly growing record of community attitudes, having been revealed as more predictive of citizen attitude and behaviour than polling or the press. In addition, as a widely used medium, the influence of public discourse through online commentary may in fact rival that of the larger, official news sources, if not already then in the near future. Equally importantly, research on mainstream media has been criticised for treating their readership as 'passive recipients' of viewpoints and

information, when in reality there is a paucity of knowledge on how the public makes sense of and positions itself relative to mainstream media, especially as the power of the latter appears to be waning. Finally, the existing literature on representation of female politicians in the press has focused on overt gender-based discrimination, while initial examinations of public commentary reveal repeated associations with either males or females that could apply to either gender, traditional gender stereotyping appearing insufficient to explain particular career difficulties experienced by females. For the above reasons, this study will examine the representation of female politicians in online reader commentaries to two Australian newspapers, using comments about male politicians as a point of comparison, Linguistic analyses of representation in discourse will be undertaken to identify and explain aspects of representation not immediately evident from a study of contact alone. It therefore may identify further sources of attitudinal impediment to female politicians' careers.

1.9   Aim, scope and research questions

This thesis aims to identify attitudes which disfavour female participation in politics in the linguistic and thematic features of discourse of online social commentary. The study will limit itself to an examination of how leaders are represented in online discussion commentaries of Australian male and female political leaders serving between 2013 and 2018. Such discussions will be sourced from reader comment fields appended to two prominent online Australian newspapers. The study will respond to the following research questions:

1.   Within online newspaper reader comments, are there consistently different profiles of representation for male and female leaders?

2.   In what way/s are male and female leaders constructed in online social commentary, in terms of personal qualities, values and actions and what linguistic devices are employed in these constructions?

3.   Is there evidence that women are regarded as unsuitable for leadership?

4.   To what extent are references to traditional gender roles used to discredit women's ability to lead?

1.12 Organisation of this thesis

Chapter 2 Outlines the literature on how women are represented and the role of the media in promoting certain ideological positions on women in general and women in politics. It presents the major paradigms of social stratification into hierarchies of power. It presents linguistic analyses which may reveal such an effect, centring on Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory, Van Leeuwen's sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis and aspects of Reisigl & Wodak's (2017) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).

Chapter 3 presents the theory and principles of the methodology to be employed in this study combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis in an approach called Computer Assisted Discourse Analysis. It then applies the methodologies outlined to the data to be collected in this study, detailing data preparation and procedures.

Chapter 4 presents the first level of results, mapping the discourse data for its overall content, detailing the Key Concepts arising and presenting quantitative data to demonstrate their significance.

Chapter 5 presents qualitative results from the major Key Concepts of 'Money', 'Crime' identified from the data. It details how the actions and behaviours of the politicians under study are represented, and how these differ by gender.

Chapter 6 Continues the qualitative analysis of results to examine the construction of male and female politicians in terms of personal qualities, values and associations and the use of linguistic devices such as mitigation and intensification which may influence reader perception.

Chapter 7 connects the preceding chapters by discussing the type of devices or strategies found in the data across the broader themes identified in the data and relates them to a critical discourse framework. These include power, social change and representation of social cohorts. It concludes that much negativity aimed at female politicians in Australia relates to strategies to delegitimate them within their role, hence indicating rejection of women's participation within the political leadership sphere, rather than objection to perceived traditional gender stereotypes.

CHAPTER 2   Literature Review

The previous chapter presented the case that women have progressed toward equal participation in politics, but numbers remain low, and women appear to meet with more obstacles in the form of public and media criticism, Australia being no exception. The chapter argued that use of traditional gender-based criticism in the press had decreased overall, at least in anglophone countries and did not appear sufficient to explain barriers to females participating in politics. Community discourse was explored as a promising site to examine prevailing attitudes in the community, which may have impact on politicians' careers.

Such attitudes can be revealed in how politicians are represented. Online comments to newspapers were identified as an appropriate genre in which to explore representation of female politicians by members of the public, whose opinions in the form of natural language have been minimally explored, with an evident, untested assumption that the public's opinions are likely to faithfully mirror those of the mainstream press.

This chapter reviews literature concerned with the thematic and linguistic representation of women in general and women in leadership positions, including politics, to indicate fruitful directions for research into representation of female politicians in online discussion. Research into sources of discourse in the community such as the mass media, entertainment and occupations are examined as a source of ideology (Fairclough, 2001. p.3) and appraisal. Some marked differences in representation of men and women are revealed, indicating that analysis of discourse by members of the public is likely to convey clear differences in social attitudes. The aim is to identify what is established about representation of women as a gender, and what more specifically defines women in leadership roles. The selection of appropriate techniques of linguistic analysis, which will also be explored in this chapter, specifically Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory, van Leeuwen's (2008) sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis and Reisigl and Wodak's (2017) Discourse Historical approach.

2.1   Representations of women and their position in society

The literature on the representation of women in society throughout history is too plentiful to summarise entirely. Here I will attempt to summarise major trends, largely through

research into anglophone society, where I was able to access a more comprehensive range of research and hence was less likely to select outlying or atypical representations. Most of the literature on representation examined the domains of mainstream media and entertainment, while other relevant studies included women's representation within occupations and workplace leadership because the studies were relevant to female politicians as relative newcomers in a male dominated occupation.

The mainstream media is of interest due to its enhanced access to communication from public figures and institutions, especially before the advent of the internet, and its consequently privileged role in creating and disseminating representations of matters in the public domain (Fairclough, 2001, p.41). News media has been extensively studied internationally as a source of bias against ethnic groups, immigrants (Fairclough, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2017; van Dijk, 2015) and gendered groups, albeit largely in terms of stereotyping in traditional gender roles (Fountaine & McGregor, 2002; Garcia-Blanco & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Joshi et al., 2020; Lundell & Ekström, 2008 Lim, 2009; Mavin et al., 2010; Ross & Sreberny, 2000; Stirling, 1987). However, media representations may not be shaped so much by citizen influence but instead by ratings and commercial pressures, which pitch messages to an unknown or 'ideal' audience (Fairclough, 2001). One such example is Machin and van Leeuwen's (2007) study which found that popular women's magazines presented the modern career woman as the ideal consumer: concerned with physical appearance and romantic relationships, individualistic and lacking a desire to contribute to broader society.

Overall, the literature describes an evolving representation of women from invisible, to traditionally family based and servile, to primarily an object of sexual interest, to a dangerous figure characterised by destructiveness and excess and reverting to invisible or sex object in various periods. Byerly and Ross's (2008) wide-ranging review of representation of women in the movies and the press since the 1930s found early representations of women as 'silent and marginal' (p.18), characterised by discipline and self-sacrifice. They conclude that women's representation in subordinate roles, as 'victim' or in ancillary roles as 'wife' and 'mother' has persisted into the twenty-first century.

Diminution of women's role was also found in a study of Australian newspapers by Stirling (1987), noted in scarcity of references to women, relegation to secondary status relative to

husbands and family members, and in fact dehumanisation in the form of comparison to animals and inanimate objects. Such findings indicate the extent to which women have historically been marginalised in public representation.

Pearce (2008) similarly found marginalisation and underrepresentation of women in broad general British discourse. He sourced data from the British National Corpus (BNC) (The British National Corpus, 2007), a 100-million-word collection of written (90%) and spoken (10%) discourse drawn from a wide range of general and academic publications including the media, and conversations transcribed by volunteers. Total references to women relative to men were less numerous, while women were notably absent in representations of power, dominance and leading as well as being described with a vastly narrower range of personal qualities and behaviours, both positive and negative. Women were also evaluated negatively as emotionally intemperate, verbally aggressive and neurotic, with the very few descriptions applied exclusively to women reflecting these qualities: *bossy, chattering, gossiping, submissive, bitchy, hysterical* and *weeping* (Pearce, 2008 p.14). *Man* was more frequently associated with adjectives of physical prowess, endurance and potency and was more frequently the subjects of verbs. *Man* collocated more frequently with verbs of dominance and leading, but also with the semantic field of criminality and deviance, where men were mostly perpetrators. *Man* also collocated with a vastly wider range of personal qualities than *woman* did, both positive and negative. Baker (2014) in a multi-faceted study into representation of males and females at different ages similarly found greater omission of females, strong association of gender stereotypes, especially for children and adolescents, and that representation of males with stereotypically feminine characteristics was used as a form of denigration, indicating a persistent undesirability of 'female' qualities. Age appears to have a complex relationship with gender, with greater emphasis on gender differences in the younger years, and according to Moon (2014) greater negative criticism of women than men for being of mature age.

Many of the above findings appear unsurprising, as lower female participation in activities of power, agency and crime would almost certainly be borne out in statistics. Overall, however, Pearce's (2008) analysis indicates the persistence of a far more restricted range of roles for women as topics of discourse, as well as a tendency to less individualised, more generalised evaluation.

Studies of representations of women frequently revealed that female sexuality and appearance dominated (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Pearce, 2008; Stirling, 1987). According to Byerly et al. (2008), this representation emerged in entertainment and the press in the early twentieth century soon after females began to be included, following their earlier invisibility. Byerly et al. (2006) recorded a gradual decrease in the prominence of sexuality in the latter part of the twentieth century, but also noted that it resurged sporadically in times of political and economic uncertainty.

One final but significant representation described by Byerly et al. (2008) is 'The Monstrous Feminine' which emerged in the twentieth century in horror films (Creed, 1993), a construction in which the protagonists' femaleness was fore fronted in their representation as destructive, dangerous and cruel. Such uniquely female characters have been represented throughout history in stark contrast to traditional images of women as nurturing, gentle and kind. Holland (2006) describes predecessors of 'the monstrous' such as Pandora in ancient Greece, or those accused of witchcraft, and therefore heresy, by the Christian church from the 10th century until relatively recently. Creed (1993) espouses Kristeva's (1982, cited in Creed, 1993) model of the female as 'abject' in relation to the male, due the maternal/child relationship. According to Kristeva, pleasure in the body is acceptable between mother and child, and products of the body such as excrement are not a source of shame, a state that the infant must resist and abandon to attain adult morality. Women therefore represent all unacceptable moral stances, from 'liar and hypocrite' whose actions repel because they demonstrate 'the fragility of the law' (Creed, 1993, p.55), to the 'monstrous' act of not accepting one's traditional gender role (p.57). This extreme representation contrasts starkly with traditional stereotypes of women as gentle and nurturing and represents women as polarised: characterised by extreme virtue or vice. Such polarisation will be encountered in section 2.2.3, where similar characterisations are found in research into representation of female politicians. 'Abjection' is also found in the dichotomous representation of many social outgroups in society compared to in-groups as is discussed in terms of 'othering' and 'interpersonal stratification' in section 2.5.

Regarding omission and inclusion, the situation has improved in recent times. Sigley and Holmes (2002) studied frequency of references to women in several English language corpora, finding that generic references to women doubled from 1960s to 1990s (p.141). However,

overall references to individual, named women remained low, with a tendency for women to be collectivised, while men were individualised (Sigley & Holmes, 2002 p. 141). Studies of media representation of females in sport indicate that improvements noted in quantity and positivity of reporting (Salido-*fernández* et al., 2021; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017) may not be related to acceptance of femaleness. Jaworska and Hunt (2017) studied female representation in the 2012 Olympics, finding that positive evaluations were closely linked to national pride as the nationality of the athletes was mentioned more frequently than the athletes themselves. Also, as in the case of sexuality, they also found that the gains were reversible because they decreased in the following years with an accompanying increase in negative evaluation of female athletes.

2.1.2   The Gendering of Occupations

Studies of women within occupations revealed that marginalisation and associated traditional stereotypes followed them into the workplace and had a strong role in public perception of women in the workforce. The workforce itself is greatly gender segregated worldwide (World Economic Forum,2016, p.3) with little change in composition within occupations in Australia over the last 20 years (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2021).   One study found that participants, in fact, imposed traditional gender stereotypes on to occupations. Cejka and Eagly (1999) studied the decisions of 189 subjects about the most desirable traits for occupations, such as engineering, carpentry, nursing, and teaching. Subjects selected the traits from a list of 55 attributes created by Williams and Best, (1982) of stereotypically male and female traits in terms of physical attributes, (for example, *athletic, tall* versus *pretty, dainty*) personality (*competitive, adventurous* versus *affectionate, gentle*) and cognitive (*analytical, exact* versus *intuitive, creative*). Results demonstrated that the traits selected by subjects for each occupation closely agreed with the actual proportions of males and females within them in the 1998 US Bureau of Labor Statistics (Cejka & Eagly, 1999, p.414).

However, the above findings are not evidence that such traits are more suitable for particular occupations, or even accurate assessments of the characteristics of each gender. Instead, they may reflect only the associations made by the public, more tied to contemporaneous societal values and practices. Further, Williams & Best's (1982) list of stereotyped gender characteristics is based on judgement by individuals which may have been subject to the same

gender-based associations and have hence been socialised to society into a corresponding set of beliefs.

Many studies noted different standards for males and females within and beyond the workforce, largely disfavouring women, with women's skills and knowledge discounted as prerequisites rather than assets. Johnson & Ensslin (2007) looked at two British newspapers for representation of men's and women's language ability. They uncovered marked differences in journalists' attitudes to the social roles of each sex and also a dearth of evaluation of women's use of language relative to men's. Critique of male writers' language skills was overwhelmingly positive, with commendations for aesthetics, originality and even risk taking. The rare evaluations of female language were largely critical of shortcomings.

Studies also revealed differing expectations and evaluation for males and females in similar roles, revealing double standards towards competence, promotion and behaviour. For example, a study of evaluation of job applications found that women with identical qualifications to men were judged as less competent and recommended for lower ranking occupations (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Kanter (2008) found that in managerial roles, women tended to be 'tokenised' as a minority, leading to 'branding', which she explained as high visibility, stereotyping and an increased tendency for female achievements to be unfavourably compared with males, while the converse was not true.

Eagly & Karau, (2002) and Risman (2004) explored the expectations of employing institutions toward men and women within the same role. Risman (2004) points out that institutional practices determine distribution of opportunities and resources (p.433), which may not be openly based on gender, but on the roles pertaining to gender that society imposes. For example, men may be more easily promoted to leadership roles due to implicit assumptions around ability, just as workplaces may impose conditions which are incompatible with caring roles. Eagly & Karau (2002) coined the concept of 'role incongruity' in which women in occupations were represented as ideally nurturing and subservient: two qualities which were incompatible with the prevailing constructions of leadership.

In medicine, studies in the U.S.A. have found that female medical students were more likely to be assessed on social/emotional terms, while males were assessed on their academic prowess (Axelson et al., 2010). Another wide-ranging study revealed a relationship between

representation of genders and institutional practices, concluding that gender discrimination was driven by marked power differentials within the profession. Ng et al.'s (2020) narrative, or broad-based literature review revealed high levels of discrimination experienced by female medical practitioners internationally, also finding a high prevalence of discrimination based on race and ability. Female medical students and early career doctors reported 'perceived barriers to job progression, lack of respect, inappropriate verbal exchanges, barriers to hiring, bias against pregnancy and disparities in salaries or benefits' (Ng et al., 2015, p.581). A strong hierarchy of power within medicine was seen to encourage recipients to tolerate negative behaviour but nonetheless was consequential for their wellbeing and career advancement. Such power differentials may be comparable in politics, which is highly competitive and hierarchical.

Furthermore, increasing the numbers of women in an occupation does not automatically place them on an equal footing with men, while movement of women into a profession has been shown to decrease its prestige (García-Mainar et al., 2018). A recent Australian study of several traditionally male professions found that while women have entered these professions in large numbers, they dominate the less secure, lower paid and less prestigious roles. These include academia (Ng et al. (2020), high level public service (Colley, 2017), law (Ryan & Pringle, 2017) and engineering (Durbin & Lopes, 2017. These findings are reflected in an international study by Goff and Le Feuvre (2017), who note that the 'numerical feminisation' (p.5) of many occupations has been spectacular over the last 30 years, especially in the professions, but that gender boundaries have persisted. They refer to a similar tendency for women to remain within the less prestigious positions of lower remuneration, termed 'ghettoization' (p.6). This is attributed to both structural conditions, such as requirements of extended working hours, childcare limitations, and what they refer to as lack of 'social capital accumulation 'within a male dominated culture, which refers to a relative paucity of characteristics or traits which are valued in that workplace, along with networks and long-standing associations such as family connections. They also describe the existence of an 'informal set of demarcation rules', differing by workplace (p.5), which result in women having more difficulty moving up the hierarchical ladder.

It is likely, therefore that 'embattled' nature of female careers in politics can be explained in part to the gendering of that occupation. The gendering of politics was noted in the late 90s

in a study of press commentary on televised political debates in the United Kingdom, where Gidengil & Everitt (1999) found that commentators in the press employed traditionally masculine metaphors of war, conflict and violence most frequently. The same phenomenon was noted more recently by Johnson, (2015) in her study of the Prime Ministership of Julia Gillard. Johnson (2015) assesses politics as a highly gendered occupation, and definitively masculine as demonstrated through references to manliness, strength and dominance. She draws attention to representations of the leader of the opposition, Tony Abbott as manly, and highly physical, winning the election over the relatively feminine 'wordy nerd', Kevin Rudd (p.297). Johnson quotes Abbott's veiled and frequent references to masculinity, such as when he implores Rudd to 'be man enough' (p.298) to admit his policy mistakes, a predilection reinforced by Finance Minister Mathias Cormann's infamous reference to the leader of the opposition as 'an economic girly man' (Harrison, 2014). Johnson further contends that the concept of leadership is itself gendered masculine, causing female leaders to be depicted as more aggressive, and hence open to negative evaluation because this quality is inconsistent with their gender. Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, (2020), themselves national leaders, interviewed a range of female leaders internationally and concluded 'Think Woman Leader – Think Bitch' (p.159).

2.2 Media and representation of female politicians

Studies of the media's role in disseminating attitudes towards female politicians reveal an initial interest in the novelty of women in leadership roles, an ongoing greater interest in their personal and private lives relative to men, a persistence, albeit reducing, of traditional gender stereotypes and finally an apparent alarm at the possible threats that female politicians present to society.

2.2.1 Novelty

Margaret Thatcher, as one of the earliest female heads of state in the anglophone world attracted considerable press attention due to her gender, Ponton (2010) concluding that in the '80s, the media was 'obsessed' with the newsworthiness of a female Prime Minister (p.21). Thatcher herself leveraged this interest, promising a fresh approach and extolling the advantages of being a mother who had therefore managed a household (Ponton, 2010). This

suggests little resistance to her gender in the leadership role but also suggests Kanter's (2008) 'branding' of women in management, a phenomenon that was seen to result in greater scrutiny and hence more evaluation.

More recent studies indicate that the 'novelty' factor for female politicians has decreased over time, more so than invisibility and stereotyping. Thomas et al. (2021) studied media representation of women as governmental heads in Canadian provinces finding little evidence of the 'novelty' factor: instead, female premiers consistently received less press coverage than males. They also found greater use of gender identifiers and traditionally feminine vocabulary in reporting of female leaders than masculine for men, indicating that their gender remained noteworthy. The study also found more positive comments about both women's bodies and women's competence, which Thomas et al. (2021) concluded reflected more complex gendered mediation: media coverage differentiating by gender but in directions that were not predicted by traditional stereotypes. Their study however lacked a qualitative component, extracted entirely using automated analysis of sentiment, polarity and a dictionary-based analysis tool. As my study will later illustrate, purely quantitative analyses do not reveal the contribution of linguistic devices such as mood, negation and modification in determining the final meaning of a given text.

2.2.2   Stereotypes

Evidence is substantial that female leaders worldwide are represented according to traditional gender-based stereotypes (Ahrens, 2011; Baxter, 2017; Benokraitis, 1997; Billig, 2010; Chemaly, 2016; Donaghue 2013; Fountaine & Macgregor, 2002 ; Hall & Bucholtz, 2012; Lakoff, 2003; Lawrence & Rose, 2010; Luecht, 2016; Markstedt, 2007; Mavin et al., 2010 McConnell-Ginet, 2003; McLaren & Sawer, 2015; McLean & Maalsen, 2013; Norris (1997) Richards, 2016; Schneider & Bos, 2014; Trimble et al., 2013; Wilsher, 2016).

In contrast, research from the USA indicates that gender stereotyping of female politicians has decreased over time. Beliefs regarding competence of females were found to be equalising with those for males. Dolan (2004) and Dolan et al. (2016) undertook two studies 12 years apart which demonstrated apparent evolution in media representation of female politicians. Dolan (2004) analysed the National Election Survey in the United States, finding a clear influence of candidates' sex on the opinions of voters, who tended to align femaleness with

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liberalism and voted accordingly. Dolan & Lynch, (2016) studied the influence of gender stereotypes on voting intentions. They surveyed 3000 people, based on a literature review of the most common stereotypes associated with gender in terms of policy making and personal traits. Results indicated an overall weakening of gender stereotypes regarding policy, less so among conservative voters, with only abortion and childcare being viewed as more in the realm of competency of female politicians. While there was some residual tendency to associate women's competencies with traditional areas of interest, such as education and health, approximately half of all respondents reported no difference in competence along gender lines. For traditionally male areas of policy such as economy, immigration and security, similar but even stronger trends were noted, between 56 and 76 percent reporting 'no difference'. In terms of personal traits, gender stereotypical representation persisted, women being associated with compassion, negotiation and engendering change. Meanwhile the association of women with stereotypically male traits modestly increased, including decisiveness, experience, intelligence and leadership (p.584). However, the survey revealed a persistent preference for traditional male traits in candidates in higher offices and controlling larger electorates. Dolan and Lynch (2016) concluded that gender stereotypes were one small influence on voter intentions among many factors and reported a large reduction in overt hostility towards women's participation in politics.

The above two studies suggest a gradual diminution in traditional gender stereotyping over time, possibly in line with changing social attitudes. However, the studies were limited to measuring previously identified gender stereotypes rather than overall differences in appraisal by gender. Discrimination against a cohort can reveal new and unpredicted evaluations depending on the attitudes of the speaker/writer, the social groups with which they identify or events in the world. For example, a study of the BBC's representation of Muslim Women from 2001 – 2007, following the attack on the world trade centre, revealed that the hijab was a central semantic focus, albeit inaccurately defined, and frequently associated with concealment of weapons (Al- Hejin, 2015). Further support for a more exploratory approach is provided by Baxter (2017), who examined media representations of female leaders in the United Kingdom using Feminist Post-Structural Discourse Analysis (FPDA), a method which focuses on gaps, absences and contradictions in representation and alternative readings of the text. Baxter concluded that representations of female politicians,

unlike males were not only 'gendered and stereotyped' but also 'essentialist' (2017, p.2); a deeper level of association which determines almost all characteristics of a particular category such as male or female. Hence a more exploratory approach to researching representation of gender will potentially reveal implicit or as yet unidentified differences.

Much research into representation of female politicians has noted a tendency to personalise, that is, to report on themes of personal rather than professional significance. Such themes include media attention to the body, physical appearance and details of private life. In common with stereotyping, personalisation positions the female role within traditional tropes of appearance and domesticity. In Canada, a large-scale study of Canadian newspapers by Trimble et al. (2013) analysed content in 2,463 newspaper articles over 37 years from 1975 to 2012, finding that stories about female politicians were significantly more likely to be personalised, which, according to the authors, rendered women aberrant, or possibly 'abject', in the male-gendered political sphere.

Related to personalisation is the 'family strategy' (Trimble, 2017, p.122) whereby the media creates interest by publicising the family life of politicians, and politicians capitalise on this newsworthiness to their advantage. This strategy, she notes, tends to work in favour of men but against women, who are in a double bind because having a family is normalising and aspirational for the general public, although a disadvantage for single or childless women as was observed for Australian Prime Minister Gillard (Heffernan's, 'deliberately barren' the most sexist remark of 2007, 2007). It is also perceived as reducing a woman's effectiveness in her role. Hence, public interest, journalistic newsworthiness and political competition work together to disadvantage women in politics.

2.2.3   Extreme negativity

While most research into representation of female politicians identifies traditional marginalisation in the form of omission and trivialisation, several studies identify more extreme and active condemnation by the press. Gildengal and Everitt (1999) studied press commentary on televised political debates, finding that commentators used more extreme language to describe female politicians' debating style frequently citing excess aggression, although content analysis revealed that the male politicians used more aggressive language than the females.

Similarly, the press coverage of Hillary Clinton in both the 2008 and 2016 elections has been examined, revealing repeated use of damaging topoi, including Clinton's 'unlikability', her ostensible health problems and an email controversy which implied criminality (Lawrence & Rose, 2010 Luecht, 2016; Ross, 2014; Uscinski & Goren, 2011), a finding that directly contradicts both Pearce's (2008) findings that there were minimal reference to crime in relation to females in the BNC and also the broader statistics regarding women and crime. Such accusations represent a radical break from traditional gender-based discrimination, possibly recalling 'The Monstrous Feminine' identified by Creed (1993), a reinforcement of the notion that the press draws on long standing beliefs and representations in its appraisal of women in politics.

Meanwhile a popular metaphor, *The Gender Card,* has received considerable attention, as applied to Hillary Clinton (Falk, 2013; Lim, 2009) and Australian Prime Minister, Julia Gillard (Kerr, 2013; Sheehan, 2012; Stevenson, 2013). According to Falk, (2013) the *Gender Card* metaphor represented politics as a rule-based game, where certain moves or objections were undertaken to gain unfair advantage over political opponents (2013, p204). Lim (2009) similarly underlined a societal denial that criticism of Clinton arose from gender discrimination and a belief that references to her gender were raised to generate unearned sympathy. In Australia, one journalist opined that Gillard's 'play[ing] The Gender Card... reveals her true nature' (Sheehan, 2012) and another that it 'backfire[d]'(Kerr, 2013). Further, a study by McLaren and Sawer (2015) of media reception of Gillard's 'Misogyny Speech,' (to be discussed in Chapter 6) found that television and newspapers more frequently portrayed the event as a political tactic than a genuine expression of offence. This may represent a bias in political allegiance by the media outlets, or possibly a simple omission of alternative viewpoints. In either case, the view it represents is selective.

Stevenson (2016) analysed such metaphors and characterisations by the press as part of a new 'post-feminist' paradigm, where gender-based discrimination was regarded as eliminated, presumably based on changes to legislation alone. Hence, complaint of such discrimination effectively led the media to conclude that criticism arose due to faults in the female politician as an individual, rather than systematic inequity.

Lim (2009) also identified an evolution of other metaphors in the press discourse about Clinton from her time as first lady to presidential candidate. The 'first lady period' was characterised by metaphors of Madonna, in which she was lauded in a maternal role for the nation, but subservient to her husband. The second metaphor, 'unruly woman', portrayed Clinton as living the role of maternal figure, but with numerous violations in the form of her pursuit of an independent, high-profile career. The final two metaphors 'bitch' and ''which'' presented Clinton as powerful but deeply unlikeable (2009, p.266). On the one level, Lim (2009) argues, in agreement with Eagly and Karau, (2002) that metaphors applied to female leaders portray them as unsuitable for leadership, because the very qualities of strength required render them unappealing and hence unelectable. At a deeper level, it recalls the trope of 'monster' (Creed, 1993) or 'violator' (Joshi et al., 2020) applied to those who do not adhere to a socially prescribed gender role. Hillary Clinton herself assessed this representation as arising from 'a feeling so deeply rooted, [the commenters] could have passed a lie detector test' (Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020 p.162). Clinton goes on to describe her demonisation 'I got accused of every crime you can imagine…There was an effort to take me down by just making stuff up and hurling accusations' (p.162).

Trimble (2014) found a theme of melodrama in her study of three female prime ministers, supporting the theme of exaggeration or extremity. Trimble (2014) examined the television coverage of New Zealand's Shipley and Clark and Australia's Julia Gillard. Representation was characterised by moral polarisation, in which the protagonists are all good or all evil. Shipley and Clark rose to leadership by deposing a male and hence were portrayed as backstabbing and treacherous. Trimble et al. (2021) found that Gillard in the initial phase of her prime ministership escaped condemnation by being represented as passively promoted by male figures behind the scenes. An examination of the later phase of her prime ministership revealed media representation similar to her New Zealand counterparts (Williams, 2017).

Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, (2020) argue that aggression in female leaders is condemned, and amenable demeanour is a 'prescriptive stereotype': a quality required for one to be seen as suitable for a particular role. They relate the pressures experienced by female political leaders internationally, the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg stating that she endeavoured 'to always smile a little' so as not to be portrayed by the media as 'sour, hard and aggressive' (p.156).

More recently, van Dijk (2017) studied the press coverage of impeached Brazilian President, Dilma Rousseff, identifying new levels of strategies of victimising by presenting accusations as facts, such as Rousseff's alleged acceptance of bribes, using metaphor, presupposition and author disclaimers, along with high frequency news stories, to erode Rousseff's approval rating from 60% to loss of office in less than two years.

A systematic review of research findings by van der Pas and Aaldering (2020).) asked whether the media coverage of politicians differed by gender. They analysed 90 studies which examined over 25,000 politicians. Their findings replicated the studies above, showing that female politicians were represented with greater invisibility in the form of both reduced media coverage, and a narrower range of topics for women. Greater negativity toward female than male politicians was also found, and males were more frequently assessed in terms of leadership potential and the core roles of their jobs such as policymaking. The study covers politicians from 1984 to 2020, but summates results for the period, without attention to changes within that time as noted in the preceding sections. They base their analysis of gender differences on the commonalities in reporting on gender stereotypes, examining issues as far ranging as descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes, the incongruity of female trait stereotypes with those for politicians and consequences for violating gender stereotypes. These associations are collated under the label of masculine/feminine trait/issue and measured quantitatively, which may result in some reduplication and opacity in what is actually being measured. Their findings may have been clearer if based on a more clearly delineated paradigm,

However, Van der Pas and Aaldering's finding (2020that male politicians were more frequently visible, represented in direct quotes, policy coverage and leadership suggests a closer attention to the execution of their role with lower interpretative and indirect reporting and is consistent with earlier findings of omission. Also, females were found to be represented with greater attention to personal and behavioural coverage, such as background, personality traits, appearance and family life, suggesting greater interpretative or indirect reporting, as was in fact found in the study, which is summarised in Table 2.1. Females were more frequently reported in terms of 'viability', which referred to their likelihood of winning, and also'viability assessment', which evaluated the politician herself for qualities to enable her to

'stay in the race' (p.118). This assessment of females suggests a lack of security within the press about female capacity to execute the political role.

Table 2.1
Quantitative differences in thematic representation of male and female politicians in a systematic review of published research primarily in the English language. Adapted from van der Pas and Aaldering (2020)

Higher for male politicians	Higher for female politicians
masculine trait coverage	feminine trait coverage
masculine issue coverage	feminine issue coverage
visibility	negative tone
direct quotes	overreport aggressivity
policy coverage	interpretative reporting
leadership trait coverage	personality traits
	appearance
	family life
	mention of gender

Van der Pas and Aaldering's (2020) definition of 'tone' as applied to males and females appears to differentiate only between positive and negative. While they report overall higher negative tone female politicians, this does not extend to all the thematic differences identified, specifically personalisation where no difference was found between genders. From the point of view of my study, therefore, their findings on personalisation appear inconclusive.

Another widely scoped literature review by Joshi et al., (2020) examined themes emerging in representation of female leaders in news media worldwide. Joshi et al., (2020) created 'master frames' using a procedure from sociology formulated by Benford and Snow (2000). They characterised the representation of women leaders as 'violators, virtuous or victim' as well as 'invisible' (p.698). 'Violators' refers to women as usurpers in a male domain and included the concept of 'novelty' (p.3) as women received disproportionate attention due to their scarcity in political roles. This frame includes difficulties experienced by female MPs due to increased public scrutiny, obstacles to attaining parliamentary positions and to fulfilling their roles. 'Virtuous' refers to a tendency to present female leaders as more likely to be caring and honest in their role, while 'victim' referred to representation of women as the victims of another's

actions. 'Invisible' refers to the tendency for women leaders to be omitted from news media stories relative to the prominence of their political role.

Joshi et al., (2020) applied these 'master frames' to 772 articles from 265 newspapers in 48 countries (p.692) over a period of 30 years, representing a broad but shallow scope, in that only a small number of articles were collected from each country in each time period. Hence some caution is required in applying their findings.. Their results detail findings from newspapers in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand combined), which indicate that representation of female MPs as 'violators' is largely in step with Europe and North American statistics (p.699), although minimally higher in mentions of appearance, family and children: all traditionally female associations. Their analysis of themes arising in articles about female politicians on a worldwide average indicated that representation through traditional themes, such as those mentioned above, had fallen in the period 2000-2014 relative to 1985-1999. They also found a corresponding rise in politics-related themes such as policy making and democracy and also in broader less clearly gender-related themes, such as violence, education and ethnicity/race (p.700). The theme 'virtuous' was found to have risen, indicating greater acceptance of female MPs, but also indicating possible application of another gender stereotype; that of females as carers and nurturers. Further, the frame of 'victim' was found to have shifted in its reference, from generally more open to exploitation, to specific victim of patriarchy in their political role. Lastly, they found a continued tendency to omit female MPs from news coverage and to generalise about them, ignoring intersectionality, so that female MPs were 'treated as relatively homogenous and interchangeable' (p.705), reflective of similar findings by Pearce (2008) of generalisation and lack of detail in representation of females.

In short, recent studies worldwide indicate change over time: women in politics receive far more negativity than men in mainstream media, but overt traditional gender stereotyping appears less prominent (Dolan & Lynch., 2016; van Dijk, 2017; Shor et al., 2014; Tromble & Hovy, 2017), albeit persistent in less explicit forms such as personalisation. This finding mirrors that of studies of press reporting on migrants where overt racism was found to have greatly declined (van Dijk, 2015; Krzyżanowski et al., 2018). In recent years, journalists in the mainstream press may have refrained from overt discrimination based on race or gender, primarily for motives of public relations and legality. Van Dijk explored such surface diplomacy in his study of 'disclaimers', hedged assertions and positive presentation (2001, p261),

characterising mainstream press as a construction which reflects ideologies of the publishing organisation within the limitations of public and legal requirements. Societal disfavour of discrimination, as van Dijk, (2015) contends, is likely to result in use of discrete devices, rather than open vilification. These may include selectivity in reporting of issues, bias in stance or framing to reflect the self as positive, the other as negative; semantic moves and tropes, including metaphor; lexical selection, collocations, thematic roles, and event or factual retelling which presents the topic in a negative light. Such negative or delegitimising strategies have also been identified as prominent in online social commentary.

The literature indicates that mainstream media is represents male and female political leaders differently, frequently employing traditional gender stereotypes in terms of passivity, preoccupation with physical appearance and domesticity: arguably a powerful barrier to women being perceived as suitable for leadership. Moral characterisation of female politicians as all good or evil, omission, heightened negativity of appraisal as well as greater attention to electoral viability indicate attention to issues beyond those with a clear relationship to the candidates' gender.

Evolution in the representation of female politicians (Dolan & Lynch, 2016; Joshi et al, 2020) was evident in a fall in traditional gender stereotypes over time, along with the rise of portrayal of female politicians as 'violators', or interlopers within the field of politics (Joshi et al 2020), again an evolution from silent and adherent to traditional gender roles to excessive and harmful. Research by several authors also supports the representation of female politicians as destructive to their standing within their work (Gerrits et al., 2017: Gidengil and Everitt, 1999, 2003a; 2003b; Hall & Donaghue, 2013). Research by Van Dijk (2017), Lim (2009) and A'Beckett (2012) demonstrates that negative representations by the press have a strong potential to hinder or terminate the careers of women in politics, and this may be mirrored in online discussion, although the impact of social media on electoral behaviour is not well understood. Further, the nature of negativity in online discussion has only been explored recently and cannot be assumed to reflect that of mainstream media.

2.2.4   Negativity in online discussion sites

An influential study of the nature of negativity in online political discussion groups is that of Papacharissi, (2004) who identified two types of negative behaviours by commenters: incivility

and impoliteness. The former was defined as a danger to democracy in the form of threats to individuals and groups, their personal freedoms, including safety, and application of stereotypes. The second, impoliteness, by contrast was defined as name-calling, negative judgement (*idiot, irrational*), hyperbole or vulgarity and was seen as the lesser of the two threats. The study found that impoliteness was more common than incivility, but both were minimal, at 22% and 14% of comments, respectively.

Studies of incivility towards politicians in online discussion found such commentary to be marginal, undifferentiated by gender in terms of quantity but with notable differences in the nature of comments. Those directed at males spiked around prominent individuals and highly controversial topics while for females hate speech was significantly more frequent (Ward & Mcloughlin, 2020) with more stereotyping and gendered abuse (Gorrell et al., 2020; Rheault et al., 2019; Southern & Harmer, 2021). All aforementioned studies noted more sexism in comments to females, while Southern and Harmer (2021) identified overall gendered othering as males were frequently feminised. The definition of sexism is, however, at issue here as the above studies define terms as sexist only when they that clearly entail gender (*witch, stupid boy* (Gorrell et al., 2020, p.14). Certain adjectives or epithets may be more frequently associated with one gender or the other as found by (Pearce, 2008, p.18) whose study of the BNC found for example that *dour* collocated exclusively with males, and *severe looking* with females. The finding that males were more heavily criticised for their political decisions than females, possibly reflects their greater numbers in executive roles but could also indicate lack of attention to female politicians' professional actions. A study of predictors of incivility (Bardall et al., 2020), concluded that extreme reactions were more common when female politicians were a credible threat to male hegemony. Consistent with this was Rheault et al.'s, (2019) finding that incivility toward female politicians in Canada was only more frequent when they were of high profile, indicating a persistent lack of acceptance of females in decision making roles.

Other studies noted persistence of more extreme incivility in the form of more frequent threats of violence toward female politicians (Ahmad et al., 2020; Amnesty International, 2020; Bardall et al., 2020; Chen et al., 2020; Fuchs & Schäfer, 2019; Stahel & Schoen, 2020). In addition to violence, Ahmad et al. (2020) reported that in India, gendered abuse was characterised by personalisation, sexualisation and negative appraisal of appearance, similar

to findings in the press in the United States, the USA and Canada and indicating a possible continuum in gender-based disapproval.

The Institute for Strategic Dialogue (USA) studied more than 250,000 social media posts to American electoral candidates over 11 days concluding that negativity was notably greater for females than males (Guerin et al, 2020). Personal abuse was identified in approximately 15% of posts, or two to three times as often as males. They also found intersectional difference, in which 39% of posts to women of colour were abusive, while for males ethnicity did not increase the amount of personal abuse received. Their results indicate that disapproval of candidates was based first on gender and then additively on other differences from the dominant group of white males such as ethnicity or religion. They also reported that social media providers failed to act on incivility toward female politicians, even when these included threats to personal safety, while social media contributions hoping that Trump died from coronavirus were immediately removed.

Similar findings are noted beyond politics, with several authors concluding that online incivility was higher for females in journalism (Wagner, 2020; Pain & Chen, 2019). Research on interviews with journalists from Taiwan, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States indicated that the victims of incivility found their work environment hostile and were reluctant to interact with their audience (Chen et al., 2018).

Overall, these findings about online negativity are largely in line with findings about representation of women in general, and of female politicians by the mainstream press. Gendered incivility and negativity remained higher toward females than males, more so when they or their actions were high profile and possibly reflecting the magnitude of their perceived threat to established hierarchies within politics. Following Papacharissi's model (2004), greater incivility towards females also threatens their participation in the democratic process. However, none of the studies reported here took a linguistic approach to examination of incivility and impoliteness; many were undertaken using automatic sentiment detection software or corpus level analyses alone, while others employed interviews or thematic analysis alone. This suggests that any effects will have been underestimated.

The findings of high negativity toward women in politics is consistent with a common criticism of many female political leaders: that they are either too weak for the role or are excessively

aggressive (Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020; Johnson, 2015 p.302). This is a clear example of both role incongruity (Eagly & Karau, 2002), and differing standards by gender, given that male politicians are valued for being strong leaders who can make tough decisions (Gökarıksel et al., 2019; Hansen & Wills Otero, 2007; Kivisto, 2019; Rowland, 2018; Walker, 2018). It also reflects Byerly et al.'s (2008) finding that public female figures were perceived as either submissive or monstrous. Hence gender can be conceptualised as a powerful organising principle imposed at the societal level, often based on experiences and beliefs. It determines many aspects of how an individual will be evaluated regardless of performance and defines the nature of a range of societal roles. As such, conceptions of gender and associated beliefs are likely to have a notable effect on how an individual is perceived, with associated penalties for those who do not conform. Such penalties have been identified within discourse in the form of increased negativity toward women. Differing standards for behaviour and performance, evidently based on gender-mediated evaluation, are seen in relative absence of women as topics of discourse, lack of representation in agentive roles, greater collectivisation and more narrowly defined roles, as evident in the more restricted descriptive vocabulary used to represent women. Conversely, studies of women in executive positions indicate that their gender attracts undue attention and hence possibly, greater scrutiny (Kanter, 2008). As in broader society, there is much evidence that the workplace, notably within politics and leadership, is gendered, with valuation of traditional male values of strength and aggression evident in the use of metaphors, and some denigration of traditionally female values.

In terms of examining behaviour toward female politicians within parliament, Richards, (2016) found differing standards of behaviour applied to male and female politicians in Australia. For example, female parliamentarians in Australia were more strongly sanctioned for interruptions than men and disproportionally blamed for adverse events.

2.3 Gender-based discrimination in language structures

Discrimination can be expressed in an infinite variety of language structures, which is reflected in the diverse structures examined in previous studies, especially in the last thirty years because analysis and internet-based communication have enabled the study of larger data sets for features that might not be evident through human perusal.

Linguistic representation of gender is frequently studied through binary comparisons of male and female, since these entities exist essentially in contrast with each other. Diminution of female status or authority relative to males has been revealed by studies of gendered cognates (*man/woman, bachelor/spinster)* and their etymology and denotations (Romaine, 2008) Such semantic derogation was also revealed through comparison of use of gendered terms in Australian newspapers. For example, young adult males and females were labelled *men* and *girls* respectively*.* Titles such as *Mr* and *Mrs* reflect the public nature of marital status for women but not for men. Females were more frequently omitted and described through objectifying tropes (Stirling*,* 1987). Studies of sequential ordering of gender cognate terms such as *kings and queens* determined that the male cognates are mentioned first, indicating higher status (Pratto et al., 2007). Pearce (2008) investigated semantic roles for evidence of relative agency of males and females. Linguistic evidence for differential treatment of males and females has been found in lexical diminishment of female public figures (Lakoff, 2003) asymmetry in name calling, formal marking for deviation from gender-normative roles (McConnell-Ginet, 2003), metaphors (Falk, 2013; Lim, 2009; Stevenson, 2016; van Dijk, 2017) presuppositions and damaging topoi (van Dijk, 2017). Collocations, or words which frequently occur close together in a linguistic string, represent 'culturally entrenched stereotypes' (Romaine, 2008), which reveal much about attitude and social ideology.

Pearce's study of the representation of man and woman in the British National Corpus (2007) is a relatively early application of corpus linguistics to gender. Pearce (2008) used frequency counts of the references to *man* and *woman* and other gender cognates to identify omission and inclusion. He examined semantic roles of *man, woman* and their cognates for evidence of agency or lack thereof. Collocations of *man* and *woman* were examined to reveal the lexemes paired with those terms at a statistically significant frequency. Collocating lexemes have also been used to isolate recurring themes, associated semantic fields, negativity and positivity as well as giving information about the range and variety of personal qualities and actions (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Pearce, 2008). Pearce also searched beyond explicitly sexist evaluation by calculating the lexical items and themes that collocated with both genders or more frequently with one or the other, to reveal that associations that were not gender neutral. Collocations also revealed that women were not accepted as the normal standard, since semantic fields of nationality and religion collocated more frequently with woman, e.g.,

a Muslim (male) compared to *a Muslim woman.* Many techniques applied in analysis of stance toward, or appraisal of other marginalised cohorts are also applicable to the study of gender and will be explored in Chapter 3, sections 3.2.2 to 3.2.5

In conclusion, considerable evidence exists spanning over 30 years that women and men are not only treated differently but represented and judged differently, often in ways that have an obscure or complex relationship with traditional gender stereotypes. Gendered representation was observed in the press and entertainment, where women were represented within limited, usually powerless roles. Similarly, at the linguistic level of representation females were represented with less agency, less dominance, more emotionality, more omission, and greater negativity (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Pearce, 2008; Romaine, 2008;). This effect appears to be stronger in the workplace, where different requirements were revealed for standards of behaviour based on traditional gender-based values (Eagly and Karau, 2002; Gidengil & Everitt, 1999; Johnson, 2015; Kanter, 2008) and their opportunities limited by discrimination, both personally and at the level of career advancement (Broadbent et al., 2017; Colley, 2017; Durbin and Lopes, 2017; Ng et al., 2020; Ryan & Pringle, 2017). The literature also indicates that such representations are more polarised in occupations with strong power hierarchies such as medicine. Politics is a highly gendered occupation where, despite the entry of large, albeit arguably insufficient numbers of women, attitudes and beliefs of the society and institutions such as politics itself, affect how they are perceived and hence the behaviours toward them.

2.4   Discrimination and Stratification in Society

Social structures and beliefs determine how power and prestige are differentially awarded to various sectors of society; hence they also determine the nature of discrimination and privilege and resulting attitudes towards different sectors of society. The notion that society is divided into strata by social class was proposed by several early theorists including Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber (Gane, 2005). Weber described society as composed of economic and cultural layers which shaped individuals' efforts to acquire power and prestige but limited individuals to their stratum. This occurred without individuals' consciousness and in such a gradual manner that changes were not readily perceived in a lifetime (Weber, 2013). Further Weber posited that such stratification of society was

perpetuated by common and repeated practices rather than consensus or reasoning, such practices serving the purposes of the elite.

Social stratification can be recognised in many forms of discrimination and many authors note hierarchies of social privilege at its root: van Dijk, (1999) in racism, (Wodak et al., (2009) in Nationalism and Fairclough, (2001) in socio-economic classism. Van Dijk, (1999) describes racial discrimination as essentially a social hierarchy with in-group and out-group biases. Wodak et al., (2008) also describe similar features of in-group privilege, outgroup denigration and omission in their study of Austrian nationalism, while Fairclough (2001) describes welfare recipients being marginalised as passive and their challenges unreported in the mass media. Several authors label these practices as 'strategies' with the aim of achieving a social outcome (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.3; van Dijk, 1999; Wodak et al., 2008). All these studies contend strongly that the vehicle of transmission of such biases lies in discourse, here defined as 'text and talk' (van Dijk, 1999, p.146). Van Dijk (1999a, p.146) and Fairclough (2001) also stress the role of social bias in creating individual bias, to become a mental phenomenon or 'internalis[ed]' (Fairclough, 2001, p.166), because attitudes and beliefs are formed through an individual's reception of discourse from powerful institutions, and thence between individuals.

Fiske, (2010) similarly adopts a model of social stratification to explain discrimination as a socio-cultural system of dominance, the most powerful group in society being regarded as the default, with lower strata being subordinated by group stigma including religion, ethnic group disability and most relevantly, femaleness (p. 942). Influence, or power within society is seen as source-based: that is, arising from the status of the person communicating (Fiske, 2010, p.945). All social strata favour their own cohort and cohorts above them, while giving less positive regard and attention to those below. At the same time, in representing other community members, the entire society of all strata mobilises beliefs about the target's status at non-verbal, verbal, and attitudinal levels. Hence for the highest social stratum, credibility and positive regard are awarded by their in-group and all below, and this favouritism diminishes down the hierarchy. In short, high-status groups show more in-group bias and outgroup derogation (Fiske, 2010, p.947) and possessing higher status elicits perceptions of higher competence (Fiske, 2010, p. 949), with the effect working inversely down the hierarchy.

Further, existing structures, determined by groups of higher status, are perceived as morally correct, hence all groups tend to work to preserve the status quo (Fiske, 2010, p.950).

2.4.1 Gender Stratification

Huber (1986) specifically explores gender stratification, criticising Marx and Webers' models as male centred because social strata were determined by the occupation of the household father, and hence from outside the family, while historically female action was limited to within the family and their contributions and hence invisible. She supports this notion with evidence that categories of gender were not added to Bills of Civil Rights in many countries before the 1960s and 70s. Huber (1986) also details mechanisms by which women from different social classes are reduced to dependence and socioeconomic invisibility.

Gender stratification is consistent with the concept of 'gendered othering' (Spivak, 1985, p.245; de Beauvoir, 2010, pp 724-741). 'Othered' individuals are members of a dominated outgroup whose characteristics are rejected by the dominators while disfavoured characteristics are simultaneously projected onto the 'othered' as moral failings. Further, the dominant group claims possession of all knowledge and capacities within society as arising from itself, disenfranchising the capacity of 'other' (Spivak, 1988, p.256). Spivak 's (1988) account supports the notion that the 'othered' will be represented through universal mechanisms of derogation rather than criticisms which are targeted at failings of the outgroup. Spivak also proposes that outgroup derogation will result in criticism on moral grounds because the intentions and wants of the ruling body are represented as righteous and moral despite their possible negative impacts on outgroups.

De Beauvoir (2010) and Holland (2012) characterised gender-based discrimination as a unique and complex among forms of othering. Women, unlike many cohorts in society are dispersed geographically, physically, culturally and historically throughout almost all social groupings. Women hence exist separately from each other but alongside men and therefore are deprived both of solidarity and a culture distinct from their dominators in what Holland, (2012) described as 'a Gordian knot of interwoven dependencies...biological, sexual, psychological, social, economic and political' with woman as man's 'other that cannot be excluded' (p.254). Such interweaving of cohorts and resultant subordination has been described among other

groups whose lives are interwoven across different cohorts of society such as differently abled cohorts, especially the hearing impaired (Glickman, 1996; Paris, 2016). Such groups are represented as recipients of beneficence, lacking in agency, and frequently assigned overly positive attributes for succeeding at simple tasks. In the case of gender-based discrimination, representation may therefore be characterised by attribution of traits to women that are not explicitly recognisable as arising from gender but more from generic traits of lower prestige in society. Glick & Fiske, (2011) add to this the discussion of ambivalent sexism. Their attitudinal surveys of males toward women were found to yield co-existing attitudes of hostility and benevolence, for which the aim was not to eliminate but to control: an attitude which they describe as 'fundamentally antiegalitarian [and] gender-traditional' (p.533). Sexism can therefore exist alongside both benevolence and misogyny.

Feminist Discourse Analysis (FDA) aims specifically to explain and resist discrimination against women by rejecting the androcentric bias of much social research (Hesse-Biber et al., 2012). The post-structuralist philosophy of FDA rejects established explanations and regards all knowledge as partial and subjective (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 6). FDA is conducted with reflexivity: an awareness of personal values and beliefs brought to the research. Like critical discourse analysis, it applies a range of techniques, provided they can accommodate a post-structuralist, reflexive approach. However, researchers need to remain aware of the following: that Western sex roles are not universal, that statistical differences do not reflect innate or fixed differences but require a feminist interpretation, and that difference is not inferiority, and should not be measured against a predetermined paradigms which regard male as the standard (Hess-Biber, 2012 p.10). My study adopts an FDA stance toward gender in that it regards all interpretation as ultimately subjective, and findings as evidence that individuals are shaped by society rather than proof of innate difference. Gender representation is explored to identify consistencies based on individuals' identified gender, rather than seeking to confirm expected findings.

2.4.2 Social stratification: resistance and defence

Van Dijk, (2015, p.7) explains that systems based on hierarchy and discrimination are inherently unstable, inevitably giving rise to resistance, community pressure and eventually to policy and legislative changes. Social change arises because societal beliefs and practices

fail to keep pace, leaving marginalised groups disadvantaged in material and social terms and hence, in line with a Marxist viewpoint (Turner, 2013), promoting awareness of members within the discriminated stratum. In terms of discourse, there are two important outcomes from resistance. Firstly, when a dominant group realises its 'interests are at stake, [its] actions… may no longer be ambivalent,' (van Dijk, 2015, p.8) but instead, it may mobilise discourse to reinforce its privilege, making in-group biases highest when the social hierarchy is challenged. Secondly, due to threat of social or legal sanction, discrimination against marginalised groups is constrained to more subtle, indirect forms of discourse (van Dijk, 2015).

Such indirect, or implicit forms of appraisal of members of outgroups may in fact do more harm than explicit discrimination on the basis of group membership. For example, outgroups may be omitted from discourse, or criticism levelled at an individual may be interpreted as personal failings rather than derogation based on outgroup membership. Hence such strategies may conceal stereotypical or values-based criticism. As Cameron (1998, p.20) notes use of non-sexist language may present little advantage to women, as 'the concession you make to feminism without losing your dominant status…inherently a minimalist response'. Arguably therefore, identifying consistent patterns of representation of women in leadership provides a more useful basis for counteracting discrimination than a simple search for sexist language. Similarly, overt discrimination, such as derogation on the basis of gender, is easily identified by regulations and hence can be avoided.

2.4.3   Evidence for gender-based discrimination in discourse

In terms of discourse, social stratification is likely to reveal itself in the relative inclusion / omission of certain social groups, since higher status groups frame discourse according to their values. Dominant groups are more likely to be portrayed in agentive roles, more positively evaluated, and the society as a whole will favour their values (Fiske, 2010; Wodak et al., 2008). Fiske (2010, p.951) gives the examples of dominant military and sporting metaphors as evidence of this trait. Conversely, lower status individuals can be depersonalised through less frequent representation in discourse or even absence altogether or through being referred to in generalised terms or stereotypes (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.28). Also, the values and beliefs of less prestigious groups in society are likely to be underrated, perceived as unintelligible (Herring, 2003) or even condemned as perverse or morally degenerate (Spivak, 1985).

Negative perception of values and practices of 'othered' groups may lead to suspicion about their actions and motivations as destabilising to those of the dominant group. Further, van Dijk's (2015) observations that dominant groups resist social change indicates that stronger reactions are likely to outgroups which challenge existing power relations, mention of unequivocal outgroup characteristics such as femaleness may be avoided, and disclaimers may be employed to disguise outgroup discrimination.

The literature examined thus far on representation of women, and women as political leaders in the media indicates that they are subjected to more negative sentiment, more personalization, and traditional gender stereotyping and held to different standards of behaviour than their male counterparts. In the context of one of the largest standardised samples of discourse in English the British National Corpus, Pearce (2008) added to the above, greater collectivisation compared to male individualisation, frequent omission and restricted social roles. Social stratification provides a parsimonious explanation of such discrimination, positing that society is divided into cohorts of differing prestige and power, sometime intersecting. However, as Glick and Fiske (2011) have noted, the boundaries of femaleness as a cohort are blurred, being interspersed across race, class and cultural boundaries in a complex relationship with the other gender, making their standing within an interpersonally stratified society complex and difficult to predict.

The findings of these studies of representation of women, and specifically of women as leaders, raise several issues. Firstly, femaleness in leadership is still represented as marked or aberrant, which may also lead female leaders to be portrayed as outsiders, or using Joshi et al's term, 'violators' in their role (2021). Secondly, traditional explicit gender role associations continue to exist. Thirdly, it is possible that gender stereotypes entail certain personal qualities or predilections not explicitly gender based, such as honesty or industriousness. Fourthly, evidence exists that males and females are held to different standards for certain skills and behaviours (Johnson & Ensslin, 2007). Finally, female leaders have experienced incrimination over a wide range of issues which do not clearly relate to gender (Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020; van Dijk 2017). Regarding the source of public perception of political leaders, Ponton (2010) notes that prominent politicians are a construction which draws on several levels of input, beginning with personal qualities, actions, the objectives of political advisers, perceptions of the public and dominant social structures such as business, media and the

church. The relative impact of these factors on public perception is uncertain and outside the scope of this research. Instead, the research aims to identify the evaluations of governmental leaders which are distinctive to each gender both in terms of traditional gender stereotypes and beyond in other gender associated representations.

While this study focuses on females, it is necessary to compare male and female data because of the binary nature of traditional concepts of gender, where one concept exists in contrast to the other. Previous studies of the appraisal of politicians by gender have been mostly thematic and have focused on traditional gender-based stereotypes, which have not drawn on the considerable potential of linguistic analyses to reveal attitude and measure its strength. Further, in the field of politics and gender, few studies have drawn on the natural language of the general public rather than the discourse of organised institutions, or elicited responses within experiments and surveys. This study addresses these gaps by examining opinions in the now widely available domain of online social commentary.

2.5   Interpersonal Stratification and Stance

Together discursive elements such as those above reflect the speaker/writer's evaluation of their topic, a phenomenon known variously as 'stance' (Bednarek, 2006; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Du Bois, 2007), 'appraisal' (Martin & White, 2005) and by a variety of other terms: 'modality, evaluation, attitude, affect, subjectivity' (Kärkkäinen, 2006, p.700). According to Kärkkäinen, stance in linguistics is the expression of a speaker's psychological state toward their utterance, with attitudes and beliefs embedded in every utterance produced (2006 p.702). Stance is only loosely tied to grammatical and lexical features of the language and hence found in an almost endless variety of linguistic structures (Du Bois, 2007 p.145; Bednarek, 2006; Jaffe, 2009; White, 2003; Kärkkäinen, 2006 p,703). This has resulted in a plethora of taxonomies for stance in English (Millar & Hunston, 2015 p.302).

Several authors have identified some aspects of English language as more likely to carry the speaker's stance. These include the basis of the speakers' knowledge, evaluative functions, affect and preferences/wants (Kärkkäinen, 2006; Martin & White, 2005) as well as expressions of assessment of truth value and expressions of duty (Kärkkäinen, 2006). Martin and White, (2005) and Reisigl and Wodak (2017) also include the intensity or strength of the expression

of stance. To this van Leeuwen (2008) adds semantic roles and how they are expressed as another aspect of stance. Van Leeuwen creates a series of semantic roles based on sociological models.

One linguistic measure of the principles of social stratification is the cline of abstraction – concreteness, which Rubini et al. (2014) contend, is able to reveal the nature of intergroup relations, typically those of ingroup enhancement and outgroup derogation. They apply the Linguistic Category Model (LCM) of Semin and Fiedler (1992) mainly to verbs. LCM contends that abstracted lexicon is interpreted as a state or trait feature, and extracted from context, leading to a more stable evaluation of the phenomena being commented on. Use of concrete lexicon, in contrast is more likely to convey a temporary state and hence to be less evaluative. In terms of in/outgroup evaluation, positive features of ingroups will be expressed with more permanence through abstraction, while negative features are likely to be expressed more concretely, with the inverse being true for outgroups. Rubini et al., (2014) provide four levels of concreteness abstraction as are summarised in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2
Relationship between degree of abstraction and strength of evaluation according to Rubini et al. (2014).

Linguistic Feature	Examples	Evaluative outcome
1. Descriptive Action verbs	*talk, read, write*	Minimally evaluative; interpreted by the listener through external or contextual information. E.g., *She read the diary* implies little judgement unless it is known that the diary is private.
2. Interpretative action verbs	*help, interfere, invade*	Interprets action as negative or positive and refers to a class of actions, rather than a single action.
3. Stative verbs	Like, think,	Refer to an ongoing state without clear temporal limits
4. Adjectives	Likeable, arrogant	Separate from specific behaviours and highly subject to interpretation.

Rubini et al. (2014) tested the LCM on 814 evaluations of employees by their employers, finding a strong in-group bias because negative evaluations of female employees were more frequently expressed in abstract terms, and positive evaluations in concrete terms, with the

opposite being true for males. Interestingly, a study of primary school teacher reports in Italy found the inverse was true for evaluation of male and female pupils, indicating in this case an attitudinal bias against male children. Thus, it is arguable that the cline of abstraction is not tied to gender but to the intention to mitigate or aggravate the evaluation of the subject.

However, the above model can be criticised on the absoluteness of the grammatical categories studied. For example, adjectives may be temporary as indicated by contextual information: *It was freezing this morning*, while descriptive verbs may be rendered evaluative by context: *Did she interfere in your privacy? Yes, she read the diary*. Stative verbs are distinguished by the use of simple present tenses, which also renders descriptive verbs stative (*She yells at us* (stative) vs *She yelled at us* (limited to an event)) The relationship between past and future tenses and 'stativeness' appears complex, often requiring additional temporal information (*She always yelled at us / She will always yell at us*). It appears likely therefore that stativeness and description may have a broader function than permanency or lack thereof.

Abstraction is associated with several different functions. According to Martin and White (2005) an actor is personalised and foregrounded through concrete representation of emotions (*smiled*, *applauded*) rather than abstracted emotions (objection, approval). Bednarek (2006) contends that abstracted emotions are highly subjective, while Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that abstracted emotions preserve status for the individual attributed. He also notes that abstraction can serve to present a situation as normal or natural and therefore beyond question. It is arguable, however that abstraction may perform all those functions if conceptualised at a higher level.

Potter (1996), in fact, explores a broader function for abstraction clines, conceptualising concrete detail from the point of view of the commenters' purpose. On the one hand concrete examples provide a semblance of facticity, strengthening the commenter's argument; on the other they leave an argument open to scrutiny by a dialogic partner and the risk of loss of credibility (1996). Similarly, abstraction does not invite challenge or scrutiny but presents a communication as less credible. Two aspects of the commenter mediate this perception: 'stake' and 'interest'. Stake involves authority or involvement of the commenter, for example, as an eyewitness to events conveyed in the message, and 'inoculates' against challenges to

authenticity. 'Interest', by contrast, represents the subjective preferences or wants of the witness regarding the message and its subject. Hence the degree of abstraction employed will reflect the commenter's need to manage stake and interest; whether the message will remain credible after scrutiny and whether the commenter feels the necessity to reinforce their credibility.

2.5.1   Epistemic Stance/engagement

The basis of a speaker's knowledge includes the self (*I believe, I think*), other (*he said, the report states*), sensory (*I saw, I heard*). This feature is referred to as 'epistemic stance' by Bednarek, 2006; Du Bois (2007) and Kärkkäinen (2006) but 'engagement' by Martin and White (2005). It can indicate a speaker's self-positioning relative to his or her dialogic partner but also the person he or she is talking about, henceforth called the 'referent'. The literature reaches various conclusions about what epistemic stance reveals about a speakers' attitude. For Kärkkäinen (2006) epistemic stance is a negotiating device between speakers, to arrive at a common assessment. She rejects the notion that, for example, the use of *I think* is subjective but instead posits that it separates the speaker's opinion from that of their partner. Similarly, Martin and White, (2005) see such verbal devices as interactive: *I think* leaving conversational space for a speaking partner to disagree, while lack of an epistemic marker, labelled 'monoglossia' by Martin and White, (2005) and 'averral' by Bednarek (2006) who analyse a statement such as *He's an idiot* marks the speaker's stance as absolute, precluding further negotiation on the matter. Bednarek, (2006) regards epistemic stance similarly to Martin and White (2005), classifying it according to source of information (inside or outside the speaker) but also arguing for a complex interaction of linguistic features and sources which can make it difficult to determine the degree of subjectivity of the utterance. In fact, the definitions above indicate that epistemic stance informs more about the interaction between speakers/writers in a dialogue, and less about stance toward the topic or referent. Martin and White (2005) concede, however, that monoglossia is evidence of strong commitment by the commenter to his/ her comment and hence may be interpreted as an evaluation of the referent (p.107). Bednarek (2006) has explored the complexity of epistemic stance, which may in fact be expressed either to conceal or forefront the source of a speaker's knowledge indicating possibly how much credibility a speaker deems necessary to convince a partner,

which may also indicate attitude toward the referent. The following are examples of epistemic stance where, according to Martin and White (2005), the source is obscured:

*Police have never managed to trace her money…**meaning that** MacDonald will be free to resume her life of luxury (p.650)*
*Pele, **perhaps** the greatest football player of all time (p.639)*

Hence epistemic stance may indicate commenter's stance toward the referent by presenting opinion as fact or adding evidential weight to a claim which cannot otherwise be verified. Bednarek (2006, p.643) also describes the phenomenon of 'mindsay' where the commenter presumes knowledge of the referent's mental state (*She thinks she's so smart*) as an example of negative stance toward the referent.

Other kinds of epistemic markers which convey stance toward the speaker include various pronouns, for example, *we* (*why should we put up with this?)* which indicates an attempt by the commenter at solidarity with dialogic partners, on a particular opinion toward the referent. Absolute subjects (*everybody knows, nobody cares, all Australians think*) also serve to weight opinion more strongly for or against a referent.

2.5.2   Evaluative stance

Evaluative stance (Kärkkäinen, 2006), called 'attitude' by Martin and White (2005) is frequently carried by the grammatical substantives nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in what Martin and White (2005) term 'infused' form, that is, a part of the denotation of the word. Examples might include *compassion(n) saunters(v), delightful (*adj*) clumsily (*adv*)* but stance can also be invoked by constructions from more neutral words *(I do not have a high opinion of him).* Expressions of affect frequently convey attitude both as expressions of emotion (*pleased, disgusted, angry*) or states/actions indicative of emotion (*Can't wipe the smile off my face*). However, the presence of certain emotions and judgements in a text is insufficient to indicate a particular stance as evaluation may refer to the commenter, dialogue partner, referent or another aspect of the text. Hence it is necessary to examine text with reference to semantic and syntactic roles. Further, as will be explored, the amount of detail used to represent a referent, the associations attributed to them, what arguments are presented about them and frequently the grammatical forms used in a given discourse context reveal much about how a commenter positions themself relative to a referent. Overall,

'appraisal' examines the semantic values encoded in words, phrases and clauses, while stance potentially examines the broader aspect of commenter positioning relative to the referent. Hence the term 'appraisal' is seen as a subset of 'stance'. Conclusion

This chapter has presented evidence for discrimination against females in general and those in politics, finding that both groups were represented differently from males, with more negativity, greater omission, lower perception of competence and less agency. Females were found to be held to different standards and regarded as incongruous in leadership situations, and the notion was introduced of various professions, particularly politics as being gendered as male. The press was examined as the major source of data until the proliferation of online communication and found to have used considerable gender discrimination, based on traditional gender roles, but this aspect was found to be waning, while press based evaluations of females in various roles continued to demonstrate negativity and omission, with some scepticism toward female politicians' demands for equal treatment to men being dismissed as an unfair tactic.

The scant literature on representation of female politicians in online comments by the public again revealed traditional gender stereotyping, high negativity and a concerning tendency towards expressions of violence, indicating public reactions to the change in female opportunities and roles. Hence it was argued that discrimination against female politicians has much in common with other cohorts that challenge the social order such as race, religion, ethnicity and social class; discrimination which can be explained by Fiske's (2010) model of interpersonal stratification. Interpersonal stratification can be traced in the linguistic choices made by speakers in discourse (van Dijk, 2015), reflected in evaluative and emotional language, graduation, mitigation, omission.

Stance, or appraisal, can be instantiated in a great variety of linguistic structures (Bednarek, 2006; Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Martin & White, 2005) but certain pragmatic, rhetorical or topical features can reveal substantial information about writer attitude through close examination of selected parts of a large body of discourse.

CHAPTER 3 Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I outlined the nature of discrimination against female politicians by the public and the press. I argued that such discrimination aligns with the theory of Interpersonal Stratification from Social Psychology, which contends that society is organised into a hierarchy of groups of differing power and prestige. I further noted that dominant groups receive more attention and positive evaluation, while groups lower down the hierarchy may be characterised in very similar ways to each other, due to a tendency to attribute values which are disfavoured by society to less prestigious groups. I then detailed how such tendencies to devalue some groups can be identified in themes and through linguistic structures, in an aspect of language entitled 'stance' or 'appraisal'.

This chapter will first detail the conceptual approaches to linguistic analysis, processes and materials which informed my analysis of stance toward male and female politicians It begins with three major approaches to analysis of appraisal in text: Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005), Sociolinguistic Analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2008) and Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017), which will be drawn on for their significant commonalities and for the useful way in which each aforementioned approach draws on different textual features to reveal stance within texts. It then introduces the techniques of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (Partington & Marchi, 2015), which employs both quantitative and qualitative techniques from Corpus Linguistics and other discourse analysis methods to identify distinctive features of a text type, and also explore textual features at a deep level.

to sort large amounts of collated data into meaningful categories and at a deep textual level

The decision process for creation of a dataset will be outlined including determination of size, source and configuration. I will then outline the multiple analyses undertaken on the data, including the two distinct phases, the first being quantitative, where overall tendencies and

themes were identified by comparing the four corpora with each other. For the second, I will explain changes made to the corpora to improve accuracy at the qualitative phase.

3.2 Martin and White's Appraisal Model

Martin and White's (2005) 'Appraisal' model presents a useful starting point for this study because it examines many features of appraisal which can be broadly quantified in a text. It examines dialectical relationships between communicators, (i.e., engagement), evaluations of the topic (judgement) and the role of stated emotion (affect) as well as strength of judgement (graduation).

3.2.1 Engagement

Martin and White's (2005) 'engagement' not only negotiates status between interlocuters, but the how subjective the communicator is toward the topic, from 'monoglossic', where other viewpoints are excluded as in broad assertions: *He is up to no good* through to hedged or heteroglossic expressions in which the communicator's viewpoint is presented as one among other possibilities: *I think he is possibly up to no good*, forming a continuum of Intersubjectivity which acknowledges a possible reader's stance in increasing degrees.

At the more subjective end, 'pronouncements' involve intensification of the commenter's viewpoint, as in *You must agree that* (p.281). Proclamations involve the implicit presentation of the writers' viewpoint as shared by the reader, as in rhetorical questions: *Does he think we are fools? or statements of obviousness: Clearly/obviously.,.* Finally, 'endorsement' occurs when the writer's evaluation of the target is implicitly conveyed through lexical choice, often in verbs, as in *She controlled the situation by; He explained the significance of*. At the more objective end of the scale, White (2003) proposes the function of 'entertaining' in which the writer labels an opinion as explicitly personal thus permitting dialogic comparisons of stance. Expression of entertainment include *I think; it seems to me*; and adverbs of uncertainty such as *possibly* or *perhaps*. Martin and White's (2005) continuum of Intersubjectivity is summarised below in table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Martin and White's Dialogic Model of Intersubjective Stance (2005)

Monoglossic		Concurrence		Diglossic	
Contractive		**Dialogic contraction**		**Expansive**	
Bare assertion	**Pronouncement**	**Proclamation**	**Endorsement**	**Entertaining**	**Attribution**
He is dishonest.	*The truth is that*	*Clearly, obviously, does he take us for fools?*	*She explained the significance of; they clearly demonstrated that*	Conditionals*: if it were true that/ perhaps*	Reporting verbs: *He claims,* acknowledging of alternative viewpoints. Distance: choosing evaluative verbs

3.2.2   Judgement

'Judgement' as an evaluation of the topic of a text fall into two main categories, that of 'social esteem' and 'social sanction'. 'Social esteem' evaluations are based on what are agreed as dis/preferred or dis/approved within a society, most probably modern Western society, although Martin and White (2005) do not explicitly articulate this. Martin and White (2005) specify that esteem falls into three broad semantic areas: 'normality' (*she's weird / she's one of us), '*capacity', or competence, which covers a massive range of desirable and undesirable personal qualities: *humorous, clever, successful, boring, ignorant, weak* to name a few. Finally, 'tenacity' appears to cover whether a person as topic is likely to be effective or dependable in what they do: *patient, rash, impatient, impetuous, careful, thorough* (p.53). Such judgements can be inscribed, in a single word, as in the previous examples, or invoked in a phrase or clause: *she makes me laugh.*

The second category, 'Sanction', tends to entail official judgements of state and other societal institutions, also largely upheld by society, such as policies and laws, awards and

appointments. Like 'esteem', 'sanctions' can be both positive and negative, and likewise reveal values central to society but differ in that they serve as boundaries of societal acceptance. (Martin and White, 2005, p.52). Social sanctions are realised in terms of judgements of 'propriety' or ethical standards and 'veracity'. Examples of the former include *good/evil, (not)/law abiding, im/polite* and the latter: *dis/honest, in/discrete, candid/ devious.*

3.2.3   Affect

Emotional expression is central to appraisal, being, as (Martin and White, (2005) state, 'a fundamental physiological reaction' (p.55) but also informed and directed by beliefs and values, so that the narratives and judgements associated with a person or situation shape our emotional response (Pessoa, 2019). Hence expressed emotions, if presumed genuine, reveal much about how we place a phenomenon relative to our own belief systems. Martin and White (2005) in fact characterise all other forms of appraisal as 'institutionalised affect' (p.58), in that they channel our individual affective responses into communally recognised values.

In linguistic terms, the least ambiguous expressions of emotion are arguably verbs of affect (*like, hate, loathe*) which both Van Leeuwen, (2008) and Martin and White term 'reactions'. When reporting the emotions of others, speakers / commenters more frequently attribute these verbal reactions to the less powerful (*She hates her boss*) according to Van Leeuwen (2008, p.56) and less frequently for referents perceived to be dominant. Verbs of affect are gradable through infused intensity (like, love, adore) and invoked (I really can't stand him). Both Martin and White (2005) and Rayson, (2002) classify verbs of action associated with an emotion as affective (attacks, celebrates) as well as demonstrative of attitude toward the recipient of such an action by the speaker or commenter. Naturally, any such verbs of violence and aggression in the data would be metaphorical and hyperbolic as actual physical violence was not recorded during the data collection period. Affect is also infused into adjectives to demonstrate the commenters' stance with varying degrees of intensification, for example, disgusting, delightful, and these were recorded where they described one of the referents.

Affect is also infused into adjectives to demonstrate the commenters' stance with varying degrees of intensification, as in adjectives such as *disgusting, delightful* used to describe a referent. Emotions can also be evoked in the absence of emotional language, through irrealis constructions (*if I met her, I'd pretend I didn't see her*) and other unverifiable reports.

Affect has been studied in a variety of texts through automated software such as Sentistrength. Such programmes can only reveal general overall affective 'mood' within a text and as such have been used widely in evaluation of commercial products and services for overall sentiment direction (Thelwall, 2013). However, such software has little application overall in this research because, similar to judgement, assessment of direction and nature of affect within a text requires line by line qualitative appraisal at least at the concordance level. Semantic role analysis is necessary to clarify the origin of an emotion, as situated within the speaker/writer or their referents. Semantic role analysis can be undertaken using concordances with lexis of emotion, making this process manageable, although not automated. However, ultimately the representation of affect reveals more about the commenter's perception of an event or a person than the situation per se being filtered through their beliefs and values and thus reveals more about the commenter than those they comment on.

Graduation

An inherent property of all aspects of attitude: affect, judgement and appreciation, is that their positivity and negativity is scalable (Martin and White, 2005, p.137) and this 'graduation' is an indication of the strength of feeling of the commenter toward their referent. Graduation can also affect almost all parts of speech, usually through either 'isolation', that is, additional scalable words (*rather, very, extremely*) or 'inscribed' lexical values (*funny, hilarious*) as well as lexical intensifiers (*ice cold, dead tired*) and the clines of infused intensity of lexemes employed (*humour mirth, hilarity).* Intensity of judgement and affect can also be encoded in 'saturation' where marking of intensity is 'repeated' (***less and less***), 'clustered': *you big, fat, phony liar* or 'distributed': *What **on earth** is **going on** with these **stupid** apps*?'

A further dimension of graduation is that its effect can be realised in either intensification, ('force'*: somewhat loud; loud, louder*) or prototypicality, labelled 'focus' (Martin & White, 2007, p.139) as in the examples '*true friend'*, 'real *criminal'*. At the clause and phrase level, force may be augmented through repetition, either exact or paraphrastic as in the following:

'No, no, no. I won't tolerate it. I won't stand for it',

or what I have called elaboration, also called polysyndeton, where successive phrases build additional intensity using clauses or phrases separated by coordinating conjunctions to summate appraisal :

The opposition leader has either contributed actively to these attacks or stood by and smirked as they occurred.

Elaboration, or polysyndeton, is a form of saturation in which successive clauses added more detailed information on the previous generally through the use of redundant conjunctions Polysyndeton is noted to slow down the reading of a text, to produce continuity of experience (Dupriez, 2016, p.348) and arguably to create the illusion of excess by drawing more attention to each item within a list.. I have added this term to my appraisal since Martin and White's (2005) closest terms, ''saturation' (**dirty, rotten, stinking** *lie*) and repetition (*He **might** just be interested, **mightn't** he?*) do not appear to adequately describe the building of an argument over several phrases or clauses, with use of additional evaluation or evidence. This however was a prominent rhetorical strategy in the data in this study.

Assessing the intensity of infused graduation is problematic because, as Bednarek (2008) notes, it is inherently intuitive, and lacks predictable intervals or even agreement on relative strength, as in, for example *agonising* versus *excruciating*. For this reason, lexical items of infused graduation are only marked as + or – intensified in this study.

In practice, therefore, Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory enables assessment of the degree to which a speaker/writer expresses subjectivity, through monoglossic or contractive expression of their stance. The theory also accounts for diglossic, or expansive expression of stance, which could be interpreted as objectivity, or alternatively as an attempt at solidarity aimed toward the listener/ receiver in order to strengthen support for their stance. Meanwhile, as Martin and White (2005) also endorse, 'Judgement' is likely to express the ideologies and belief systems of the speaker, reflecting socially determined, or received values of social esteem and social sanction. The role of affect is complex, as it can reflect the feeling of the speaker/writer, report the emotions of a referent, or the writer/speaker's subjective interpretation of the referent's emotions.

3.3   Sociolinguistic analysis - van Leeuwen

Van Leeuwen's sociological analysis of discourse provides a necessary supplement to Martin and White's (2005) appraisal model, as the latter does not account for features of representation such as relative agency expressed through semantic roles. Van Leeuwen uses a detailed model to map sociological roles on to semantic roles, but with a complex relation to grammatical structure (2008 p. vi). van Leeuwen also draws on Halliday & Matthiessen's (2014, p.29) concept of register, which divides texts into several types (such as email, legal language, informal conversation) depending on their context. He then posits that the different surface structures are used to express different evaluations in different registers and contexts and for different purposes. For example, a referent may be backgrounded or omitted for the diametrically opposed reasons of either avoiding incriminating them, or because their contribution to an issue has been undervalued.

Van Leeuwen views discourse as 'recontextualised social practice' (2008, p. vi). That is, each episode of communication modifies content to accommodate the beliefs and stance of the communicator and the new context. Hence his contention, it appears, is that the importance of semantic roles is not only who or what is placed in each role, but how that role is expressed. The major mechanism of recontextualization is 'Transformation' which van Leeuwen further divides into substitutions (*Mrs Smith/ The woman/ The elderly lady*), deletions, where certain roles are omitted *(the protesters were removed* vs *The police removed the protesters*), rearrangements, where logical or temporal order is changed and additions, where extra elements are added to the phenomena of reference. Each of the four subtypes above are further divided into several mechanisms, which are used by the writer/speaker to relate their particular stance on the subject. The further subgroups of recontextualization are outlined in Figure 3.1 with simple illustrative phrases, where possible. In this figure, the examples are included to clarify the elements as far as possible, but are naturally limited by the nature of transformations, which vary with discursive context. Some examples of transformations include, nominated referents, or actors, which can be realised as activated or passivated: *Gillard stated today* versus *journalists questioned the embattled Prime Minister;* grammatically objectivated: *Migrants are arriving in increasing numbers,* which gives an

active role to migrants, while *Migrant arrivals are increasing*, backgrounds and passivates the subject by including it as a premodification to a nonhuman subject.

In substitution, roles may be 'particularised' (*The current Prime Minister of Australia*) or nominated (*Scott*), generalised (*The Minister*) or aggregated (*The cabinet members*). Actions and predicates are transformed in similar ways: *He objected to the motion* can be generalised into *He participated* (in the decision). Such processes serve to either clarify or obscure information, and hence indicate the stance of the writer toward the referent, and how the referent relates to other parts of speech expressed in the sentence. Verbs, or actions, are similarly scrutinised, van Leeuwen first making the broad division between 'actions' and 'reactions': the latter frequently reflects the locus of writer stance and is further divided into perception, cognition and affect, indicating, as Bednarek's (2006) research supports, the writer's degree of objectivity toward the referent. Reorganisation is a narrative technique of reordering events or logical sequences to create maximum impact of the speaker/writer's stance. Addition refers to adding words to the minimum requirements for communication of the situation, in forms such as adjectives, adverbs and lexicon of graduation. As such, addition co-occurs with aspects of Martin and White's (2005) 'judgement', 'appraisal' and 'graduation'. Van Leeuwen (2008), unlike Martin and White (2005) includes 'Deletion' as a major transformational category, forcing examination of stance beyond the text to include other roles that have not been acknowledged, and hence providing valuable insight into commenter stance.

Van Leeuwen also closely examines structures that can encode commenters' attempts to legitimise their claims. 'Legitimation' in its broadest sense may be understood as the act of making an object, concept, process or person valid in our perception in terms of genuineness, appropriacy or fitness for their role. Legitimation is realised through rules, laws and norms about societal values and beliefs (Ritzer & Ryan, 2011). Van Leeuwen posits that it is achieved principally through language, or even that all of language is legitimation (2008, p.105). Hence legitimation itself is a social or collective process, and not, as Berger et al., (2020) point out related to individual preference or approval. It is based instead on the individual's perception of what society regards as valid and enshrines in laws and norms. Linguistic means of legitimation, are classified by van Leeuwen (2008, p106) into four main groups:

- Authorisation: the text validates their proposition by referring to an authority in the form of an institution, a tradition, custom, expert or role model.

- Moral Evaluation: the text refers to ethically acceptable standards of action or being.

- Rationalisation or reference to shared knowledge or purposes in society, or what might be termed the use of reasoning and evidence.

- Mythopoesis: the use of stories to illustrate the rightness of given moral and ethical standards.

Major types

Subtypes   *Example*

Substitutions

- Particularised — *The current prime minister*
- Nominated — *Joanne Smith*
- Generalised — *Experts agree*

- Aggregated — *Many voters: backgrounded/ loss of individuality - can preclude information by obscuring detail / positions reader as outsider not privileged to knowledge p.17)*
- Objectivated — *Separation from families (cf. XXX separated family members from each other)*
- Spatialised — *The situation in parliament (backgrounds individuals)*

Transformation

Deletions — *The protesters were removed (obscures agents p. 18)*

She drove to town: deletes predictable detail (e.g. She drove a car to town)

The police restored order (May minimise certain actors)

Rearrangements — *She went to the Liberal Party meeting in Geelong. She took a helicopter (rhetorical device which rearranges sequence of events to 'draw the reader in' through strategic revelation of information.)*

Additions

Prime Minister Gillard/ this courageous woman/ the former lawyer / our first female prime minister (gradual addition of detail)

- Repetitions
- Reactions — *(subjective responses)*
- Purposes — *To ensure the welfare of the electorate (Provided by the commenter / reflect stance)*

Legitimation — **(DETAILED IN NEXT TABLE)**

Figure 3.1
Adapted from van Leeuwen's (2008) Classification of Transformations Occurring when Discourse is Recontextualised. Legitimation has been detailed in a Separate Figure.

Common sense —————————————— *It's common sense.*
Reasons for/ justifications
Many politicians do this: often
through lexical items of
frequency

Authorisation

Custom

Conformity

Tradition *As PMs have always done*

Authority

Personal *Because I say so*

Impersonal *Those are the rules:* appeal to
law, policy, regulations

Recommend-
ation

Expert *Scientists conclude.*

Role
model *(Name of sports star) supports
the Prime Ministers stance*

Goals

Agentialised *She spoke quietly to calm them:*
actions which achieve an
intended outcome
*They were spoken to quietly, to
calm them.*

Deagentialised

Instrumental

Means

Use

Potentiality

Effect

Result

Effect

Rationalisation

Theoretical

Experiential Proverbs, morals and maxims
Studies show.

Scientific Related to institutions
*Marriage is the keystone of
society.*

Definition

Adversity builds character:
general attributes or habitual
activities of the categories of
actors in question.

Explanation

Prediction *These troubles won't last long*

Figure 3.2
Details of the Transformation 'Legitimation' as detailed by van Leeuwen (2008)

Thus, in discourse, appeals to authority, moral judgement, evidence and stories which endorse or warn about actions, function to verify a person as valid within a role or in their actions, and as Madera et al. (2009) and Ross, (2019) argue, the inverse is equally true. Evaluations and recounts which place the subject outside accepted standards serve to delegitimise. This may be closely tailored to specific groups, indicating that an individual or situation is inappropriate for that cohort. Such specificity was found in online discussion by Koteyko et al., (2013): readers' comments about anthropogenic global warming typically portrayed scientists who supported the truth of climate change as incompetent and politically motivated, directly targeting the most valued qualities of their profession: high competency and precision, as well as impartiality in their research. Similarly, Neurauter-Kessels, (2011) noted that readers frequently criticised journalists for poor writing skills, while Harmer & Lewis, (2020) found that the most frequent negative response to sexual violence was disbelief, a direct delegitimation of the victims' claims.

The same values would logically also fall within Martin and White's (2005) category of 'normality' since the dominant group can be expected to define normality by its own values. However, as several authors have asserted, values esteemed by the dominant group are likely to be highly context-dependent (Kidd, 2015; van Leeuwen, 2008; Fairclough, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2014; van Dijk, 2003), which may also be true for Martin and White's (2005) 'capacity', 'veracity' and 'tenacity': possibly reflecting dominant Western culture, or the mainstream media upon which much of their research is based. Aspects of othering such as inclusion and omission may arguably be more universal, because, like normality, the dominant group is likely to base inclusion on its own values. Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of discourse analysis may reveal inclusion and exclusion through examination of agency and actions, particularly transitivity.

One other strategy of delegitimation is deletion from discourse (Baker, 2014; p.211; Partington, 2014; Wodak & Meyer, 2014 p.187; van Leeuwen, 2008 pp.30-31). For example, text which failed to mention a politician's actions and policies within their professional role, but concentrated instead on their appearance, would in certain contexts be delegitimising.

A final element of 'Addition' is the construction of 'purpose' frequently conveyed through actions. Some predictable structures are outlined, such as actions following 'to' as in

expressions as 'serves to' or 'by -ing'. However, it may be implicit and discernible only in juxtaposition as in the following example: *Australia gets the politicians it deserves. Penny Wong is indeed like the PM. She is a managerialist to her bone marrow.* According to van Leeuwen (2008) the construction of purpose is frequent in texts centred on conflict and social change and is thus likely to be relevant to this analysis.

3.4   Discourse Historical Approach

Reisigl & Wodak's (2017) discourse Historical model was drawn upon in this research because of the parsimonious way in which it analyses features of discourse as 'strategies'. These include 'nomination', or how the thematic role is constructed, and 'predication' or what is revealed about the nominated theme, including how verbs and their predicates are expressed, which corresponds to van Leeuwen's transformations of substitution, addition and deletion. Thirdly, their strategy 'perspectivisation' corresponds broadly to 'engagement', (Martin and White, 2005) and 'epistemic stance' (Kärkkäinen, 2006; Bednarek, 2006) reveals how the commenter views the thematic content. 'Intensification/mitigation' corresponds largely to Martin and White's (2005), 'graduation' for measuring emotion and commenters' commitment to their proposition. Reisigl and Wodak further include 'argumentation', which includes the stories, propositions and claims made in the discourse. Argumentation corresponds largely to van Leeuwen's 'rationalisation' and 'mythopoesis' as well as 'purpose'. A summary of Reisigl and Wodak's (2017) discursive strategies are presented in Table 2.4

Table 2.4
Reisigl and Wodak's (2017) Model of Discursive Strategies to Examine in CDA

Nomination	How referents are constructed, including use of titles, first and last names, nominal euphemisms and dysphemisms.
Predication	How referents are evaluated; including adjectives and nouns following verbs, copulars, adverbs.
Perspectivisation	How the commenter's viewpoint is positioned relative to the topic: verbs of cognition and feeling, modals such as should, must.
Intensification/Mitigation	How claims are strengthened or moderated; adverbs and adjectives of intensity.
Argumentation	How claims are questioned or justified.

Further, Reisigl and Wodak (2017) examine a range of rhetorical devices collectively labelled 'tropes' to reveal writer/speaker stance toward the referent (2017, p.96), which are not extensively explored by the above two methods. These include words, expressions or themes used figuratively, such as metaphor, metonymy, which is representation by association, such as *The White House* to describe the Government of the U.S.A. (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 38) synecdoche, or representation of the whole by a part (e.g., *blondes*, for people with blonde hair) and simile. Another group of tropes includes intensifiers/ mitigators such as hyperbole and litotes. Among these rhetorical devices, Reisigl & Wodak (2017, p.102) also include 'topoi', defined as the argument of a text, which also encompasses cultural stories and culturally agreed stereotypes or prejudices, such as *X people are lazy, Y people are hardworking*. Examining topoi and metaphors can be highly effective in tracing the origins or movements of attitudes and beliefs in a speech community, as they are often premised on distinctive associations or can be traced to particular past events (*Electricity Bill Shorten, Bronwyn 'Chopper' Bishop*).

Lakoff & Johnson, (1980, p.195) explain that the human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical, choice of metaphors expressing attitude or stance implicitly. They further posit that human action is informed by metaphor in speech and concepts: 'Time is money'; time can be saved or spent (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.198). Also, all metaphors entail those relations which are true in non-metaphorical use of the same referents, hence attaching further implicit associations to the situations or people they describe. For example, saying that a person is a pig implies not only rough, uncivil behaviour but also a lack of personal hygiene. In terms of use, Falk posits that speakers may resort to display of attitude through metaphor where direct expression would be socially inappropriate (2013, p.193). Falk (2013) argues that the media uses metaphors to gain acceptability for conclusions of questionable validity.

Steen' (2007) six-step method was employed where metaphors were encountered in this study. Whole comments were read for meaning, elements which were out of context were identified and compared them the most fundamental dictionary definition of the word (e.g., *depression* as lower area on a surface). As Steen (2007, p.14) recommended, any standard secondary meanings of the word were excluded as noted by the dictionary (depression as negative mood) as these may also be denotative in current usage. Finally, any possible relationships were identified between all possible denotations of the word and its use in

context. Certain conjunctions such as *like* or *as* were also searched by concordance for the presence of similes (Steen, 2007, p.17).

Reisigl and Wodak (2017) classify topoi arising under five major 'strategies', consistent with van Leeuwen's account of rationalisation (2008, p.4). Wodak et al.'s (2001, pp.36-38). Strategies include 'justification and relativisation,' in which the legitimacy of past acts of the high-status group is defended and reinforced; '(in-group) construction' which emphasises solidarity between in-group members and 'perpetuation', which reinforces tradition and history to preserve the in-group. Finally, 'transformation' (a term used differently by van Leeuwen, 2008) and 'dismantling' are strategies of the out-groups which attempt to reorganise social hierarchy through counterargument to the in-group.

3.5   Contributions of the combined methods to this study

In terms of analytical procedures to be undertaken in this study, Martin and White (2005) provide a detailed and useful model for appraisal as they include many features that can be identified both qualitatively and quantitatively for the entire text, such as lexical items with infused evaluation, emotions, presence of lexical items marking engagement, and detailed classification of graduation, an important indicator of strength of commenter stance. They also describe the nature of typical evaluations in terms of normality, capacity, tenacity, propriety and veracity, which inform about societal values and priorities. Hence Martin and White's (2005) model are employed as the initial analytical tool in this study as it can locate many of the features indicating commenter stance. It is arguable that Reisigl and Wodak's (2017) model of strategies goes beyond appraisal and into the broader category of 'representation' as many strategies such as deletion and argumentation can reveal valuable information about stance beyond the text and clauses that transparently 'appraise'. Furthermore, Reisigl and Wodak (2017) include various commonly used tropes which reveal attitude in discourse, such as topoi, metaphors, metonymy and litotes which are not included in the approaches of van Leeuwen (2008) and Martin and White (2005).

Van Leeuwen's (2008) sociolinguistic categories add to the above approaches, information about how referents were transformed to reveal a particular stance (through substitution, addition, deletion, rearrangement) and considerable detail about how these may appear in

surface forms such as particularisation and generalisation. These different forms are also indicative of stance as they show the relative value assigned to referents and actions within the discourse, which correspond to principles of interpersonal stratification. In line with van Leeuwen's premise that discourse records social practice, his model also includes the socially recognised values through which discourse represents the real world such as customs, traditions, institutions and 'common sense', which are themselves highly value laden. A schematic comparison of Martin and White's Appraisal (2005), Reisigl and Wodak's Discourse Historical approach (2017) and van Leeuwen's sociolinguistic approach is presented below. It reveals that Martin and White's approach is limited to infused and invoked appraisal by the commenter, as is its purpose, and places considerable weight on the dialogue between commenter and reader. The remaining two methods expand on this to allow for semantic and thematic roles, argumentation, and various devices of legitimation or appraisal, such as metaphor or litotes, which reveal the social values at the basis of the expressed attitude. Figure 3.3 demonstrates the relationship between the three approaches to appraisal of Martin and White (2005), van Leeuwen (2008) and Reisigl and Wodak (2017).
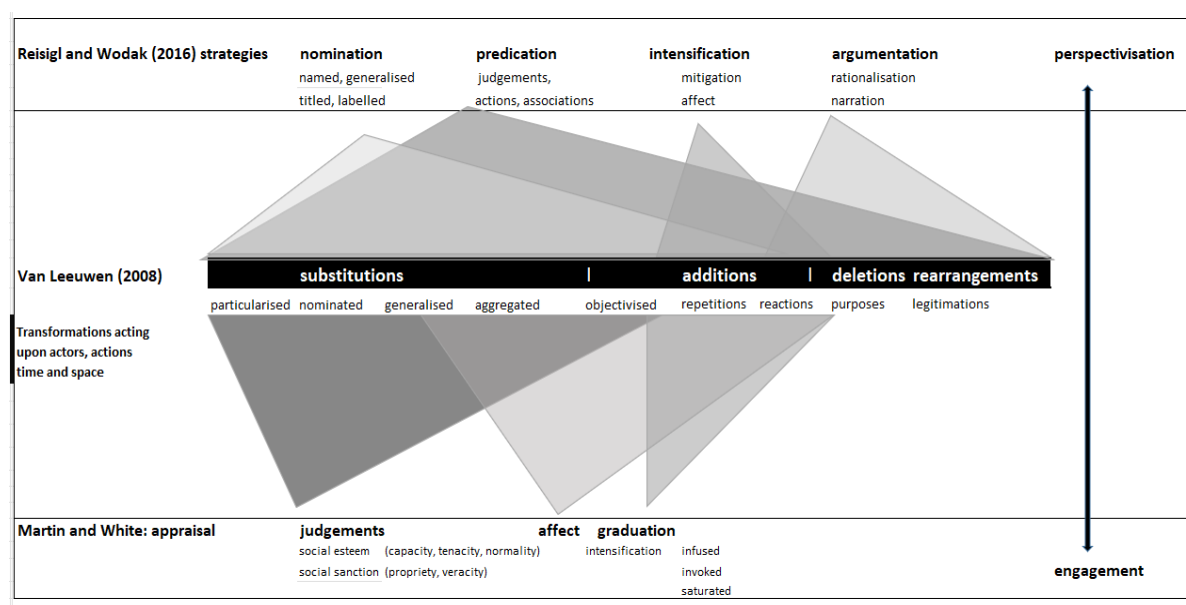
Figure 3.3
Represents a Comparison of Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005), Recontextualisation (van Leeuwen, 2008) and the Discourse Historical Approach. (2016) Source: K. Dacy

The relationships between Interpersonal Stratification, othering and the above analyses of stance are numerous. Appraisal theory, specifically the feature of judgement (Martin & White,

2008) as well as van Leeuwen's concept of legitimation (2008) are consistent with Spivak's (1985) account of 'othering' as they both present morality as central to appraisal, which corresponds to high status cohorts framing values and moral standards in terms of their own group. In van Leeuwen's (2008) model, appraisal of an individual's morality is one of the most prominent means of establishing their legitimacy, while Martin and White (2005) specify propriety as one of the five pillars of judgement, along with normality, capacity, tenacity and veracity, which may arguably be the defining features of in-group legitimacy. Further support for such othering is provided by the examination of representation of female politicians by newspapers worldwide over 30 years, as outlined in Chapter 2 (Joshi et al., 2020). Their finding, that female politicians were largely represented as violators, victims, virtuous or invisible corresponds to moral evaluation: 'violators', to reduced power: 'victims', and all of the four categories correspond to simplified reasoning or generalisations. Similarly, Reisigl and Wodak's (2017) DHA identifies linguistic processes which correspond with interpersonal stratification and othering, such as objectification (e.g., *Migrant arrivals*) versus humanisation (e.g., *Migrants are arriving*).

Van Leeuwen's (2008) semantic role analysis addresses the positioning of the referent at phrase and sentence levels while Reisigl and Wodak (2017) further include rhetorical devices, or tropes, such as metaphor, and topoi which frequently serve to evaluate. Collocation techniques can reveal frequent associations with a referent, both in terms of individual words and in terms of denotations for attitude (positive or negative). Words collocating with a referent can also be examined for their common collocations, revealing attitudinal associations (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). The next chapter will outline methods most suitable for identifying linguistic features as outlined above from a large corpus with a wide variety of contributors. These include Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and a combination of the two, entitled Corpus Assisted Discourse Study.

Clearly, the interplay of features within a text is complex, especially in dialogic samples such as those used in this study. Chosen lexemes may be negated, disavowed, or reflect a response to the context, for example: *I simply don't agree she is leadership material* where the proposition is negated, and evidently arose from another interlocuter in the conversation and *simply* intensifies the commenter's opinion, where objectively it might mitigate it. Similarly, invoked appraisal, *just get it over and done with* provides little information which can be

accessed through a collation of individual lexemes, a common procedure in methods such as Corpus Linguistics. Although some corpus parsing software is equipped to extract multi-word expressions, no such parser exists for Australian English to my knowledge, necessitating a close, qualitative reading of individual comments. In this study, Corpus level analysis was used to identify hotspots, in terms of topic, emotion, judgement and intensity, using the software *WMatrix*, as will be explained in the next chapter. These hotspots were then further analysed at a qualitative level using features of the three analytical methods outlined above.

3.6   Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) at the broadest level is a method based on the collection of a large text or number of texts selected to be representative of a particular text type (Partington, 2010). The researcher then analyses the data for features which are outstanding relative to a comparison corpus or are of interest. In news media, these consist either of news structure and function or media representation and construction (Marchi, 2022). Software is available to delineate a wide range of such features, resulting in application of CL in within disciplines as varied as lexicography, sociolinguistics, translation, cognitive linguistics and syntax (Baker, 2011, p1.).

CL, while first attempted in the 1960s, has more recently come into frequent use due to developments in computer technology and the arrival of the internet. Mass sampling of data is statistically verifiable, at least demonstrating the extent of a phenomenon within a given sample, while not ensuring the veracity of its interpretation as social practice. Data may represent all examples of a given type or genre, such as the complete works of a particular author, or may consist of a sample which is large enough to give reliable results (Baker, 2014, p.9), such as a collection of newspaper articles on a given topic.

CL methods are essentially comparative (Partington 2010) as distinctive communicative features of a given corpus are revealed by comparing one corpus with another. The comparison corpus may be 'general' (Hunston, 2002, pp.14 – 15), otherwise termed a 'reference corpus' (Baker, 2014, p.9), such as the British National Corpus (BNC), which is frequently supplied with concordancing software. The BNC has been assembled to represent typical frequency counts of words, expressions, or even semantic fields in natural language corpora from the given language. While it draws on a corpus of over 10 million words, the BNC

is now almost thirty years old and can only be viewed as representative of British English in that time frame.

Alternatively, a corpus may be specialised, such as one which compares texts from the same source or topic differing in one feature such as time of collection, (Wodak & Meyer, 2014) demographics, such as race and class (Baker & Levon, 2015), gender (Taylor, 2017) and different languages or countries (Taylor, 2014).

Corpus selection or compilation is in itself subject to researcher analysis and interpretation, requiring careful selection and sampling to address the research question productively. For example, pre-existing corpora must be interrogated for limitations such as exclusion or unbalanced reproduction of topics, structures or functions while custom-built corpora require a well formulated research question if they are to yield useful data. Ultimately, according to Marchi (2022, p 578) corpora are 'made' and hence never entirely objective, but can, as Partington (2019) contends, reveal probabilities and trends.

Another feature made accessible through corpus linguistic analysis is the identification of similarities between texts. Taylor (2013) examined identification of similarities between corpora as a way of determining what is usual and distinctive about a given text. This can be undertaken using specialist software, or alternatively comparing two texts with a third, more general corpus to identify which features in the specialist corpora differ regularly from a more general corpus.

The most common tools in corpus analysis software are frequency comparison with another corpus, key word analysis, collocation and word concordances (McEnery & Hardie, 2011 p.13). Words which rank high in frequency relative to a reference corpus may reveal the topic of the discourse, or aspects of it, but frequently also overarching stance or perceptions about the subject matter shared by writers.

3.6.1 Keyness, or Key Words

'Keyness' in corpus linguistics refers to any words, topics or expressions, of unusual frequency in a dataset relative to the same feature in a selected comparison corpus (Gabrielatos 2018, p.225) revealing what the corpus attends to, or what treated as socially important (Scott,

1997). Such key words may include aspects of appraisal through evaluative and emotional lexicon and inform about register, through revelation of higher numbers of words belong to a particular genre, language style or level of formality. Key word analysis also yields a type/token ratio, where 'type' specifies the word under examination, and 'token' its number of occurrences. The type-token ratio, overall and relative frequencies of the word are compared, and statistical likelihoods calculated to indicate whether the word frequency could have occurred by chance. Word 'type' indicates the variety or richness of lexicon within a given corpus or Key Concept, while 'token' indicates how frequently a given lexical item was used in the corpus, yielding information about commonly used or popular words and expressions, thus revealing trends in the data, or alternatively, outliers, or uncommon words in the corpus. For a key word of interest, software such as Wordsmith (Scott, 1996), and WMatrix (Rayson, 2002) make it possible to discover its distribution across a corpus, and hence where it occurs in higher concentrations or tends to co-occur with particular topics, for close analysis using critical discourse methods. Key words in a data set under study can also be compared with their collocations in other texts to reveal typical domains of use, semantic or pragmatic associations common for the given key word. However, as Gabrielatos notes, the social significance of keyness depends on the researchers knowledge of the linguistic and social context, and necessitates interpretation (2018, p. 226).

3.6.2 Collocation

Collocation is widely used within CL, and first popularised in discourse analysis by Firth (1971). It basically involves the concept that the use of a word in discourse conveys meaning only in relation to the words surrounding it (McEnery & Hardie, 2011 p.138). Words exhibit preference for co-occurrence with other specific words either for syntagmatic reasons, that is, constraints of grammar, or because speakers/writers frequently employ two words in close proximity to each other, thus potentially revealing social and cultural associations. Some frequently collocated words represent multi-word expressions, sometimes called ngrams and demonstrate a fairly fixed relationship between words (*wine and cheese, neat and tidy*) (McEnery and Hardie, 2011, p.141). In other instances, words exhibit semantic preference: they may have frequent associations with either negative or positive denotations, for example *spider* is likely to have collocates such as *ugly, scary, venomous*. Or words may associate with

specific semantic fields: for example, the adjective *sheer* generally collocates with words denoting magnitude, force, strength, energy or persistence (Bednarek, 2006, p.120).

3.6.3   The function of Collocations

In discourse analysis, collocation identifies the range and type of words that tend to occur adjacent or near to a word of interest. There may be consistent patterns of collocation with a word throughout a text, or alternatively, the words collocating with a node word may be compared with their collocates in other corpora, to reveal their frequent associations and hence their embedded connotations. However, as Bednarek (2008 p.122) notes, semantic preference may be specific for certain registers, for example, *spider* is less likely to collocate with negative evaluations in entomological literature. Hence certain caution is required in generalising findings of semantic preference from other studies.

Another use for collocations is to identify ironic or sarcastic use of a word or expression in a text, as are frequently found in Online Newspaper Reader Comments (Paskin, 2010). According to Bednarek (2008, pp. 126 – 129) irony is achieved through a deliberate violation of semantic preference, thus confounding listener expectations and connoting alternative or even opposite interpretations of an utterance. Irony and sarcasm present particular difficulties for interpreting speaker stance. Lachenicht, (2009) for example, sees irony as mitigating negativity because it circumvents direct communication of negative feeling. Dynel (2013), on the other hand, argues that speaker intention in the use of irony is heavily influenced by culture, its frequent use in a speaking community being allied with strong negative feelings. For the purposes of this study, identifying rare or disparate collocational behaviour of word may assist in interpreting their intended sentiment, and help to increase accuracy of overall sentiment detection.

3.6.4   Measuring Collocation – statistics

The relative importance of given collocations in a text can be statistically determined using several different methods. The Simple Matching Co-efficient tends to position as more significant those pairs which are most frequent, which results in large numbers of syntagmatic-collocations such as '*she is*' or '*of the*' and hence was deemed less useful for this research. T scores are more accurate with samples which are both small and of equal size. Mutual

Information (MI) score is suitable for comparison between different-sized texts (Baker, 2014 p.147). Also, as Baker (2010) explains MI yields higher scores the more exclusively two words collocate with each other, but lower scores where one or both of the words in a collocate has other collocational pairs, hence, for example, collocates of the word *glass* in a culinary text are unlikely to score highly because of the many likely pairs (water, juice, beer, wine). MI favours uniqueness among high scoring collocates, thereby suppressing results such as common grammatical collocations. It also provides a more finely graded score of the relative strength of collocations than, for example the Yule Coefficient. MI presents some limitations as its uniqueness sensitivity favours certain highly fixed combinations, especially names, for example, *Barak Obama*.

3.6.5 Concordances

Concordancing software extracts all occurrences of a selected word, some software being equipped to select ngrams (multi-word expressions), and presents them in a list, with a string of words to either side of each occurrence of a specified length. Study of concordance output can reveal typical collocations or patterns of association by grouping together key words for such features as topics or recurring semantic fields, which may represent metaphors, attitudes, aspects of the broader topic in focus and other themes arising (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008).

A wide range of language features that has been examined through line-by-line concordances. Notable past studies have examined pragmatic functions of natural dialogue such as humour (Partington, 2017), evaluative stance (Koteyko et al., 2013; White, 2016), register (Biber et al., 2015), rhetorical devices (Carlson et al., 2001) and even contextual information (Gabrielatos et al., 2011).

The investigation reported here requires a large dataset because the kinds of features to be examined, such as evaluative comments, will form only a part of any text. Many other variables will influence the composition of any given text: differing events over time; ideological and political tendencies of the readership, positions articulated in the news item to which they are appended. All such possible confounders above need to be accounted for in the final analysis, as will be discussed in section 3.6.4.

Furthermore, to achieve a reliable sample with the texts under study here, it is necessary to combine threads since reader comments are by nature brief. In order to gather sufficient evidence of evaluation, the data on individuals must also be either combined or compared, since individual variations will mean that comments on few individuals will be insufficient to draw inferences about particular associations and gender.

Gabrielatos et al. (2011) stress that examining language with analytical software is far from mechanised: high frequency collocations and keywords may be neutral or skewed in distribution thus revealing little about the substance of the texts and require verification by manual examination of 'hundreds' of lines of text (McEnery & Hardie, 2011, p.49). Hence from a linguistic point of view, CL techniques necessarily form a preliminary stage to more detailed qualitative examination to confirm inferences presented by the quantitative data. Linguistic features such as semantic roles, negations and modifiers cannot reliably be analysed using quantitative data alone as word order and word context can alter meaning considerably. This is further complicated by the fact that most CL software works on exact word or lemma matches. Synonymous terms or recurring themes are not necessarily revealed by keyword searches or machine concordance but must be identified by the judgement of the researcher, which is a time consuming and inexact process. In this study, the problem of synonymous terms is addressed to an extent through the use of the corpus analysis and comparison tool 'WMatrix' (Rayson, 2002) which in addition to key words, parts of speech and collocations, groups textual data into semantic categories which must thence be examined line by line. This software will be described in detail in section **Error! Reference source not found.**.

3.7   Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies

Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (Partington, 2010; Partington & Marchi, 2015) is a methodology within discourse analysis which arose from the enhanced capacity of corpus linguistic techniques to interrogate texts at multiple levels (Mautner, 2005) following. (CADS). the widespread adoption of the internet, which offers a rich resource of both natural language and a broad base of participants (Koteyko, 2010; Mautner, 2005; Partington & Marchi, 2015; Reisigl & Wodak, 2017; Meyer & Wodak, 2001).

Earlier methods such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) examined texts deeply, thus limiting researchers to few examples of a text type or topic. Such analyses were sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a phenomenon, although not its generalisability. CDA has thus been criticised for failing to sample representatively or to account for all of the text (Baker et al., 2008 p.275; Hardt-Mautner, 1995 p.4; Stubbs, 2001, p.3). Arguably, close analysis of single texts limits the text type of interest to more official texts by powerful institutions, as preferred, for example, by Fairclough (2001). Another method of ensuring generalisability of research is triangulation, which is fundamental to any form of discourse analysis due to the complexity of linguistic features within the data (Wodak et al., 2008, p.157). In CADS, extensive use of triangulated analysis is central, and further extended by the incorporation of corpus linguistic techniques as will be explained in the next section.

The philosophy of CADS is aligned to its earlier cousin, CDA in that it aims to reveal how discourse constructs social reality (Partington, 2004,) reflecting, as Fairclough argued, that 'we live in a linguistic epoch' (2001, p.245) in which language reflects, creates and reinforces the structure of the social matrix (Fairclough, p.290). Like CDA, CADS aims to reveal otherwise invisible themes and tropes within discourse (Partington, 2004). However, this is not a simple process of uncovering the truth of a single position, as no single truth effectively exists according to CADS; more exactly, the researchers' own ideological paradigms construct interpretation (Partington, 2010).

CADS also encompasses an eclectic range of linguistic and social analyses but is a methodology in its own right (Gillings et al., 2023). A distinctive aspect of CADS is analysis to reveal the features of a particular discourse type (Partington, 2010), meaning that standard corpora, which collate a variety of texts, are less useful, and creation of specialised corpora is typical. CADS then draws on tools and techniques of Corpus Linguistics to enhance insights by establishing a multi-layered perspective on a text in terms of 'breadth' of data, while close examination provides 'depth' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p.4). CADS views corpus linguistic techniques and discourse studies as both qualitative and quantitative because examination at the broader and granular level can yield either type of information, 'uniting ...perspectives' at the corpus and discourse levels, whether similar or different (Gillings et al., 2023, p.6). The process of examining the data is 'flexible and recursive' (Gillings et al., 2023, p.43). This is illustrated in a study of the discourse of dissenting judgements by the UK supreme court which

closely examined the lemma 'disagree' (Gillings et al., 2023, pp.39-43). While overall frequency of occurrence did not differ greatly between cases which were dissented, and those which were not, a study of concordances showed massively differing collocations for 'disagree' between the two types of judgement outcomes. This finding indicated substantially greater frequencies of politeness and hedging in cases of dissent, and hence an indication of how dissent is negotiated.

Such a recursive approach also applies to application of theories or paradigms to the corpora: the researcher may interrogate the corpus to test established models or theories or took an exploratory approach without pre-existing assumptions (Baker, 2014, pp.15-16). Such an approach is especially suitable for the data examined in this thesis as the directions of investigation will be determined by what arises from the data.

A fundamental CADS method is to identify linguistic features of unusually high or low frequency for a given text whether semantic, pragmatic or grammatical, single words or ngrams (common or conventional word sequences). From the above, it is possible to identify topics, arguments (Partington, 2004, p.13), tone; through, for example multiple politeness markers or lack thereof and key words or collocates that represent a particular social-cultural context (Mautner, 2022) CADS typically begins with a corpus analysis of a large body of text to pinpoint areas of interest through key words and expressions (Baker et al., 2008). The data set may be composed of a single document, or a combination of many shorter texts, such as newspaper articles, blogs or comment threads. The researcher may then isolate texts or lines within a sample of interest and examine these using a range of linguistic analyses. Thus, a critical discourse analysis may be supported by quantifiable data across texts, increasing its verifiability. For my purposes structures of interest can include key words, key parts of speech, semantic and pragmatic fields and collocations of interest. As this research examines evaluative content through typical structures encoding stance, it includes such features as adjectives, adverbs, intensifiers, pronouns (Bednarek, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2008), semantic fields of interest and prevailing topics. A second phase of the study will analyse comment threads which have been selected as illustrative through such phrase and clause level analyses as semantic role, nomination and predication, commonly employed in Critical Discourse Analysis.

Considerable caution must however be taken in interpretation of automatically generated quantifiable data from natural language samples. Rather than an indication of true attitudes in a text, its greater function may be to indicate areas for closer investigation at the sentence and clause level. As Baker (2014) noted, semantic themes arising from text recognition software are more likely to identify areas of interest rather than actual judgements. For example, his study of semantic themes accompanying the terms *boys* and *girls* yielded a high measure of terms regarding personal conduct for boys, both positive and negative. He concludes from this that standards of behaviour are noteworthy for boys, while they less often attract attention for girls. This proposition could be further interpreted in several ways. For example, boys' behaviour may attract more attention than girls, have greater consequence or be part of the value system of the community. Such interpretations rely on line-by-line examination of concordances, which will be undertaken on emerging patterns and themes. Similarly, frequency of a theme raised, such as behaviour, yields little information about the speaker/writer's judgement.   Instead, the polarity of judgement can be determined by an infinite variety of pragmatic means as shown in the following concordance taken from the WMatrix Key Concept 'Evaluation: true', where modifying expressions negate an otherwise positive evaluation. For example, the first sentence below contains a subtext that the subject's causes are not normally genuine, due to the words *at last*.

At last, she has a	*genuine*	*cause*
She put feminist	*credibility*	*back about 300 years*
She is no longer a fit and	*proper*	*person to lead*

One implication of this for analysis is that it appears more fruitful to examine Key Concepts as pairs of opposites, and then to take cues from both inscribed and invoked patterns of intensification. This is facilitated by WMatrix as it codes most Key Concepts as present in the data (e.g., suitability: 'positive' (suitable) and 'negative'(unsuitable) as will be explained in section 3.7.1.

CADs appears especially appropriate for this study since its primary aim is to uncover otherwise 'invisible' language or thematic structures across many specialised texts. Further, Partington (2008) states that CADS is inherently comparative in nature because the distinctive features of a particular text type are only revealed by their relative scarcity in other texts. The logical point of comparison for females is therefore males, as part of a conceptual gender

binary. By combining large numbers of brief texts for politicians from each gender, supplied by a variety of contributors, this study seeks to reveal high level commonalities in characterisation by gender. Comments from two newspapers at differing ends of the political spectrum are examined to control for the bias of any one publication. In this way I aimed to sample a wider range of attitudes to gender roles and hence gain a more accurate sample of societal attitudes at large.

Some authors recommend use of 'any adequate method' in discourse analysis (Baker et al., 2008, p273) I have chosen methods which are particularly revealing of stance or evaluation of a commenter and are focused on analysis of representation. Initial examination took a naïve approach, identifying outstanding differences between the corpora, then analysing features likely to represent differences in appraisal. In this study, a range of analytical techniques were employed, according to features emerging in the data. These were drawn from such methodologies as Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017), Appraisal in English (Martin and White, 2005) and Van Leeuwen's approach outlined in Discourse and Practice (2008).As was discussed in sections 3.2 – 3.5, all three approaches examine how characters are constructed in terms of nomination, framing and semantic roles, use of tropes such as metaphor and metonymy; predication, or evaluation of individuals, the commenter's viewpoint, intensification or mitigation of claims and overall argumentation, or how claims are questioned or justified.

My research is premised on the concept that linguistic interaction encodes social assumptions, or ideologies, which may be unconscious for both the producer and receiver (Fairclough, 2001; Hall, 1997) but which reflect ideologies or representations common to a social cohort extending from very local to international levels. A key hypothesis is therefore that the representations of the leaders studied will demonstrate consistent patterns of difference by gender, at least across some of their linguistic features. As established earlier, representation is the very nature of language (Hall, 1997) and corresponds largely to the concept of framing (Kidd, 2015) and Van Leeuwen's, (2008) discourse as 'recontextualised social practice' (2008, p.vi). The tension between discourse and the social context in which it arises acts to shape social practices. Such contexts include institutions and social structures which impose values, practices and belief systems on the discourse. Discourse likewise imposes limitations and directions on social structures resulting in a mutual shaping process (Wodak et al., 2008).

CADS and context

The major criticism of language analysis from a corpus is that by synthesising a large number of texts, detail is lost about context, such as surrounding events, actors or ideological institutions. However, CADS researchers have aimed to address this lack of balance including Baker et al. (2008), Baker and McEnery (2005), Partington (2010), Koteyko, 2010), Markstedt (2007) and Mavin et al. (2010). CL data is invariably linked to a time period, which in the case of specialised corpora can be sufficiently restricted to enable identification of major events. Partington & Marchi (2015) recommend a close definition of the nature of institutions, their values and readership. Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008) pioneered a method of downsampling, where major themes or arguments are identified through typical CL techniques such as key word and collocational analysis, then concordances are selected which reflect such themes for detailed line by line analysis, using more standard linguistic techniques such as analysis of semantic roles and appraisal theory. Likewise, Gabrielatos et al. (2011) in their study of media representation of Muslims endorse collecting records of all articles on a topic from a publication, then line by line sampling where density is highest, to identify the events which have provoked the editorial or public interest.

Baker (2014) has outlined various ways of accessing contextual information, in addition to those outlined above. Firstly, he notes that specialised corpora are in themselves a text type or genre, the applications, origins, and readership of which can be clearly delineated (p.9). For example, specialised corpora are often created from texts with a specific purpose such as ministerial addresses to parliament or press releases. He further recommends collecting identifying information about the text, such as title and date of release (p.112). Concordance lines can be further explored to establish contextual events and participants, and outliers removed from any one analysis to improve accuracy; he gives the example of concordances of *man* which, unlike those for *woman* include the traditional generic use of the term as well as that referring to males only. Baker (2014, p.14) in fact characterises concordances as a form of downsampling, which can be further interrogated for contextual clues, or the researcher may locate them in their original context to clarify context. In terms of consistency of context, dispersion data for key words can be used to determine whether a word/expression appears regularly throughout a text or is concentrated in specific segments (p.31 – 5).

Baker (2014) offers further cautions about interpreting the illocutionary effect of language in concordances, noting that speakers change style according to the role they are in, such as at home or work, in authority or not and other restrictions/freedoms of communication such as local laws or rules (p.35). He also notes that the same word or expression can have different meanings in different contexts, citing the example in a study by Caldas-Coulthard & Moon (2010) of *naughty* as applied to girls, where it has a sexual connotation, versus boys where it refers to challenging behaviour.

In a similar vein, Tognini-Bonelli (2001) argues that the use of collocates provide robust contextual evidence, citing the context of a word such as *wash*, which in a western context collocates with words such as *machine*, *powder*, *laundry*, while in an African context collocates include *river*, *woman*, *stones*. Corpus linguistics 'abstract[s] the typological' (p.89) by summating what can be described as repeated social practices expressed through language across a text or texts. She further advises that repeated reference to a social practice should be observed across texts rather than within one text for it to be counted as a feature of the type of text under study.

Partington (2004, p.10) endorses the use of corpus linguistic techniques in the study of discourse as 'highly revealing' of many contextual features. Above all, specialised corpora, as are employed in this study, can reveal many instances of a 'specialised sub-variety of the language' (p. 11) through use of specific language features by a defined group of communicators within a closely defined domain. Partington (2012) explains how his study of discourse in British broadsheets examined keyword lists for sets of items which indicated context because of their saliency within a set of texts. The researcher can then form contentions about the reasons why such features are prominent within a text type. Partington also explains that 'concordance corpora' (2014, p.88) can be formed from a list of concordances by selecting sizeable amounts of text either side of each concordance to form a subcorpus from which wordlists and keywords can be calculated to reveal detail on particular themes or language uses.

The concept of recontextualisation (Van Leeuwen, 2008) further challenges the notion that corpus studies lack context. Recontextualisation is a property of all communication because the message recreates the version of reality with every transmission, reflecting the

communicator's knowledge and attitude in specific time and circumstance. Recontextualisation is pertinent in the analysis of computer mediated communication, where communication is asynchronous, often lacks the contiguity of the 'hearer-speaker' dialogue, as is typical of conversational analysis for example, and is likely to be directed at an imagined reader. Furthermore, problems with the conceptualisation of context were noted by Briggs, (1988) who raised the dilemmas of 'inclusiveness and false objectivity' (p.13). This again is pertinent to computer mediated communication where the nature of the readership is often only vaguely circumscribed; the recipient may not be directly addressed, the physical, social and cultural contexts vary with each participant, and the text within which any contribution is embedded is not necessarily cohesive and sequential. Bauman and Briggs (1990) further argue that research into the context of discourse cannot be comprehensive, but inevitably the researcher must judge those aspects which are worthy of inclusion. They contend that meaning in discourse cannot be reduced to propositional content which is calibrated by an objectively determined context. Instead, they argue that communicative context emerges from negotiations between participants rather than being determined by them. They endorse instead 'entextualisation', which entails removing a text from its context and regarding it as a unit for analysis or 'an object to itself '(p.73). They consider alternative elements that can inform about the meaning of a text. The elements most relevant to computer mediated communication are arguably 'framing', which entails links to related previous discourses, quotes or allusions; 'form' which includes formal structures; 'function', such as speech acts and features of genre and indexical grounding such as deixis, location and time. Other elements less pertinent to my study include interlingual and intersemiotic translation, and the text's performance when recontextualised, which Baumann and Briggs (1990) included because they applied entextualisation to artistic performance. My study will establish context for the data by grounding it within events in Australian politics in a delimited time period at the national level, linking discourses to reported events and examining linguistic structures and functions selected by the commenters.

3.8 Methods and Tools employed in this research.

3.8.1 WMatrix

Wmatrix (https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/) is corpus analysing software which aims to further reduce some of the difficulties of processing large datasets, especially the problem of identifying recurring themes in synonymous words and expressions rather than limiting theme identification to exact word-matches (Rayson, 2002). The programme was developed at The University Centre for Computer Corpus Research (UCREL), University of Lancaster, a centre which specialises in research on computer aided analysis of large bodies of language data (University of Lancaster, 2016). WMatrix, like much available corpus linguistics software, compares a dataset to a reference corpus. WMatrix contains a range of reference corpora, such as The British National Corpus (BNC), both written and spoken, including several of its domain-specific sub corpora: IT, business, education, leisure, institutional. Other corpora included are American English 2006 (AmE06) and British English (BE06). Unlike much software, WMatrix tags words and expressions for parts of speech (POS). It also assigns the word to a semantic field, called a Key Concept (Rayson, 2002) and analyses verbs using a disambiguator to sort auxiliary from main verbs (p.3). Output data includes overall frequency and relative frequency of words compared to the reference corpus, multi-word expressions from the BNC, key word identification, collocations and semantic themes identified as of statistically higher frequency than a reference corpus. Parts of speech (POS) are tagged using the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-Tagging System (CLAWS), which assigns POS based on most common classification, followed by calculation based on adjacent words in context. Therefore, for example, *increase* preceded by an article will be classified as a noun, not a verb. CLAWS was used to tag parts of speech in the British National Corpus, and according to Rayson (2002), consistently achieved an accuracy of 96% in applications.

Semantic cloud tagging in WMatrix is achieved through USAS (UCREL Semantic Analysis System) (see table 3.1), a system of 21 broad semantic categories based on *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (McArthur, 1981; Rayson, 2002, p.2). This dictionary was selected based on its organisation into semantic fields and pragmatic principles (Archer et al., 2002, p.5). Little information was available on how the subjects of these semantic fields were determined, although Archer et al. (2002, p.5) state that comparing several semantic

classifications systems, the major categories are in high agreement but differ only in later divisions. Further sub-classifications of the 21 semantic fields yielded a total of 232 categories in USAS, many of which appear very suitable for analysis of stance as they include such groupings as mental states, emotions, speech acts, comparatives, negative and positive evaluations; evaluative lexemes sub-classified into such categories as 'true', 'false', (in)accurate (in)authentic, 'good' and 'bad' and 'degree' markers, which identify words which boost or diminish others, such as *very, extremely, somewhat*. Hence, many features identified as salient in Appraisal Theory, such as evaluation, affect and graduation may be traced through semantic analysis of Key Concepts. The highest-level categories in the USAS tagging system are shown in Table 0 below.

Table 3.3 Categories from the USAS semantic tagger. http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/

A general and abstract terms	B the body and the individual	C Arts and crafts	E emotion
F food and farming	G government and public	H architecture, housing and the home	I Money, commerce and industry
K entertainment, sports and games	L life and living things	M movement, location travel and transport	N numbers and measurement
O substances, materials objects and equipment	P education	Q language and communication	S social actions, states and processes
T Time	W world and environment	X psychological actions, states and processes	Y science and technology
Z names and grammar			

The semantic tagging system of WMatrix caters for problems of polysemy or for special requirements such as tagging of pragmatic features by enabling users to determine the meanings of lexemes which are specific to their data. Rayson's (2002) semantic fields are calculated on probability, hence will automatically tag a word by its most common application. Secondary and further tags are also supplied for less common meanings, and users may specify preference for these in analysis, or assign an entirely new tag, for example, the word *green* as a political party rather than a colour. This facility can be used to extract features of

interest particular to a study. For example, Gabrielatos & McEnery (2005, p.316) studied stance in Masters' dissertations by extracting pragmatic features with WMatrix then adding tags to several candidate words and multiword expressions. Searches were done on a full corpus for these tags, enabling automatic calculation of frequency relative to a reference corpus. Hence WMatrix searches can be tailored to the data set to reveal its prominent features.

Key word identification is achieved by analysing the corpus for tokens (total word count) and type (frequency of each word), then comparing the collected sample with a reference corpus, either general or specialised (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Synonymous words and expressions are grouped to create Key Concepts such as 'Politics', 'Furniture', 'Evaluation: accurate'; 'Mental processes' such as *think*, *believe*, *reason*, *mind*. As this study compares pairs of specialised corpora, with some comparison to general corpora, the corpora created for this study will henceforth be termed the 'experimental corpora'.

3.9   Procedures

3.9.1   Data Collection

Online newspapers, *The Australian* (www.theaustralian.com.au) and *The Guardian* (https://www.theguardian.com/au) were chosen as a source of data after a trial of several eligible Australian online newspapers including *The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Herald Sun, The Canberra Times, News.com.au, The Guardian* (Australian Edition) and *The Australian.* The two publications selected are the largest two national newspapers in terms of size of readership and commenter posts were frequent in quantity and regularity. National newspapers were chosen to avoid cultural differences arising in different states. *The Australian* is rated as right-centre biased (Mediabias/fact check, 2022) with 5.3 million subscribers (Roy Morgan Research, 2022b), while *The Guardian* is centre-left and reported an Australian readership of 11.6 million in 2020 (Meade 2020). Both publications append reader comments to selected articles, which serve as a form of online social commentary. Given their wide national circulation, their representation of two ends of the political spectrum and their inclusion of social commentary, these two papers were deemed to provide a wide representation of the views of the public.

Data was collected using Google Advanced search Engine, which enables searching within a single, selected URL, in this case each URL of the selected publications. The URL searches were cross checked with the search engines of the two publications under study as Google evidently omitted some results (see appendix 5, point 1 for details.).

The study aimed to sample comments on newspaper articles about 10 governmental leaders of each gender, selecting approximately 500 comments each, depending on the thread length. Key search terms entered were the names of all cabinet and shadow cabinet members of the Federal Government of the time, plus a selection of people who were prominent in leadership roles, had featured frequently in the media in the preceding few years, and whose work closely interacted with government ministers. Female leaders chosen were matched with prominent males in similar positions. Searches were made separately for each name. Selected time periods were also entered to limit the age of the articles retrieved, and the time periods extended until sufficient comments were gathered on at least ten people of each gender. Such a search method enabled identification of articles with governmental leader's name in the headline within a given time period. For one publication it was possible to enter a more specific URL to retrieve only articles with reader comments appended, while for the other it was necessary to check each article retrieved for appended comments.

3.9.2   Sample size and Representativeness

According to Rayson (2002, p.2) there is no specified minimum or maximum size for a corpus. However, Baker (2014) notes that for Corpus Linguistics, it is more accurate to choose the largest possible sample, especially when measuring topics like gender to compensate for many areas in the corpus that do not yield useable data. The corpora created here were limited in size by the smallest sample obtainable for one politician, as numbers of comments varied widely between articles. Larger samples were reduced to the size of the smallest sample as will be explained in below and in figure 3.4.

Having selected the data to be included in the corpora, it was then necessary to determine if samples were large enough to yield consistent or representative results when comparing genders. Because this study generated its own corpus for analysis from online newspapers and data, it was very diverse in terms of themes and semantic and pragmatic fields, posing a threat to the validity of any sampling. To this end, cumulative sampling of Key Concepts and

log likelihoods was undertaken, using the Key Concepts analyser in *WMatrix* to compare a sample of my data to the *BNCWritten corpus*. The *BNC written* was chosen at this stage because of all corpora supplied by WMatrix, this yielded the smallest differences from my samples at that time and was stable, that is no longer subject to updates. The content of this comparison corpus was not relevant to this exercise, as the aim was merely to identify the number of comments required in my corpora at which Key Concepts and log likelihoods stabilised. A sample of 300 threads was analysed, then second and subsequent threads were added to the experimental data in increments of approximately 300 comments, depending on the thread size. At each increase, the first 20 Key Concepts generated were compared with those in the last increment until no substantial changes were noted. By 'no substantial change', it is meant that the 20 most differing Key Concepts in both corpora were the same, but small differences in their ranking were tolerated. The composition of semantic fields in the experimental data stabilised after the tenth such increment, or approximately 3000 comments. It was hence concluded that a combination of threads reaching this number would be sufficient to form a corpus. Results are shown in Table 3.4. The rankings indicate the top 20 Key Concepts significantly more frequent than the BNC. Grey shading indicates that ranking was exact between the two frequency lists. No shading indicates the Key Concepts were the same but ranking differed slightly.

Table 3.4
Final two trials of the cumulative sample of Key Concepts in Female data from The Australian compared with the BNC to create a refined reference corpus of 3000 comments

Rank Number	USAS	Key Concept Ranking, 9th Increment	Key Concept Ranking, 10th Increment
1	Z8	Pronouns	Pronouns
2	Z6	Negatives	Negatives
3	Z1	Personal names	Personal names
4	G1.2	Politics	Politics
5	G1.2	Government	Government
6	S2	People	People
7	A3+	Existing	Existing
8	G2.1	Law and order	Law and order
9	Z4	Discourse bin	Unmatched
10	A5.2+	Evaluation: true	Discourse bin
11	G2.2+	Ethical	Evaluation: True
12	A5.2-	Evaluation: false	Ethical
13	Z99	Unmatched	Evaluation: False
14	A5.3+	Evaluation: accurate	Time: general
15	X2.1	Thought, belief	Evaluation: accurate
16	T1.1	Time: general	Thought, belief
17	S6+	Strong obligation or necessity	Strong obligation or necessity
18	S1.2.6-	Foolish	Unemployed

| 19 | A7+ | Likely | Likely |
| 20 | G2.1- | Crime | Foolish |

As the data used were sampled from uncontrolled sites of public commentary, vastly greater amounts of data were obtained for males than females. It was therefore necessary to select male data from within the sample period, without skewing toward particular events or times. To achieve maximal representativeness within a sample of widely varying dates and events, comment threads were chosen at maximally large intervals, starting with the middle date, then the earliest date, then the latest, then the date halfway between the earliest and the middle: this process being undertaken until the minimum sample size was reached (see fig. 3.4). Naturally, time distances between samples were not even because suitable articles were chosen as they arose in the newspapers according to events arising.

| Order of Sample | 2nd | 8th | 4th | 6th | 1st | 7th | 5th | 9th | 3rd |
| Sample Period | May, 2013 | | | | | | | | December, 2018 |
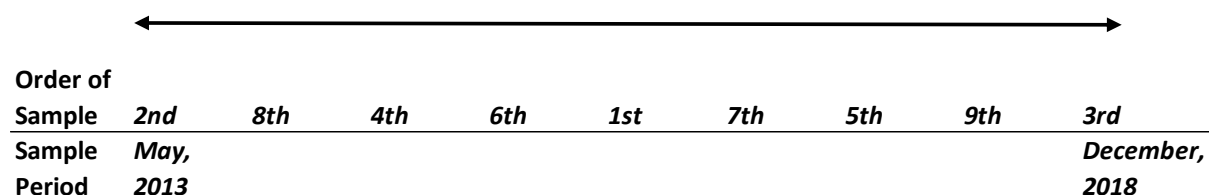
Figure 3.4
Schematic of the order and distance of sampling of comment threads by date to create a refined comparison corpus

Egbert et al. (2020) contend that representativeness of a corpus can only be regarded as a maximally refined deduction and not fact. To achieve such representativeness, it is necessary to maximise data within texts on each individual. Hence in creating the final corpora, the leaders whose names appeared most frequently in headlines were then chosen as subjects and are henceforth called 'referents'. Samples were analysed to ensure consistency in lexis which was likely to have similar frequency across texts within a text type, such as *the, of, a.*

When numbers of comments reached the target frequency of 500 described above, a male and female corpus was created for each publication. Referents were chosen across the political spectrum with most drawn from the two major parties: the Australian Labor Party (A.L.P.), also referred to as 'Labor' in this study, a party established 120 years ago and described as left to centrist, and the Liberal and National parties, a coalition of parties representing centre to right politics and also rural voters, henceforth referred to as The

Coalition. A small number of politicians were included from the Green Party (environmentalists) and from independent members. Two female state premiers (Anna Bligh, Gladys Berejiklian) and two high-profile women in roles closely allied to the government were included to reach overall parity in numbers of comments by gender. The high-profile women were Sally McManus of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and Gillian Triggs, President of the Australian Human Rights Commission. Again, the greater frequency of comment threads on male politicians meant that more females were sampled than males to create corpora of approximately the same size. The referents and details of their political positions are shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

Australian governmental leaders included in this analysis

Female Leaders	Political Affiliation and Position(s) 2013 - 2018	Male Leaders	Political Affiliation and Position(s) 2013 - 2018
Berejiklian, Gladys	Premier of the state of New South Wales, 2017 – end of sampling period.	Albanese, Anthony	Labor Minister and Leader of the Opposition
Bishop, Bronwyn	Coalition Senator. Speaker of the House of Representatives 2013 - 2015	Abbott, Tony	Coalition Prime Minister 2013 – 2015
Bishop, Julie	Deputy Leader of Liberal Party, Minister for Foreign Affairs 2013 - 2019	Bandt, Adam	Deputy leader of The Greens 2012 – end of sample
Bligh, Anna	Former Premier of the state of Queensland 2007 - 2012	Bernardi, Cory	Coalition Senator 2006 - 2017, defected to Independent Senator
Cash, Michaelia	Coalition Frontbencher, Minister for Women; Minister for Employment; Minister for Jobs and Innovation 2017 - present	Brandis, George	Coalition Attorney General 2013 - 2017
Gillard, Julia	Labor Prime Minister 2010 – 2013	Cameron, Doug	Labor Senator 2007 - 2019
Hanson-Young, Sarah	Green Party Senator 2007 - present	Cormann, Matthias	Leader of Government in the Senate, Minister for Finance 2013 - 2020
Lambie, Jacqui	Independent Senator for Tasmania 2013 - 2017	Dreyfus, Mark	Attorney General 2010 – 2013. Shadow Minister 2013 – 2022.
Ley, Sussan	Coalition Front Bencher, Assistant Minister for Education, Minister for Health, Minister for Sport; Minister for Aged Care 2013 – end of sample.	Joyce, Barnaby	MoHR and Deputy Prime Minister (2016 – 2022).
McManus, Sally*	Sec. Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) 2015 -	Gleeson, Justin*	Solicitor General 2012 - 2016
O'Dwyer, Kelly	Coalition Minister for Small Business; Assistant Treasurer Minister for Revenue and Financial Services; Minister for Jobs and Industrial Relations 2013 – 2019	Shorten, Bill	Leader, Federal Australian Labor Party, Leader of the Opposition; Shadow Minister Indigenous Affairs. 2013 - 2019

Female Leaders	Political Affiliation and Position(s) 2013 - 2018	Male Leaders	Political Affiliation and Position(s) 2013 - 2018
Peris, Nova	Labor Senator for the Northern Territory 2012 - 2016	Turnbull, Malcolm	Coalition Frontbencher; Prime Minister 2015 - 2018
Plibersek, Tanya	Labor Minister for Health and Medical Research, Deputy Leader of the Opposition; Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs; Shadow Minister for Education and Training. 2007 -	Xenophon, Nick	Independent Senator for South Australia 2008- 2017
Triggs, Gillian*	President, Human Rights Commission 2012 - 2016		
Wong, Penny	Labor Senator, Leader in the Senate 2007 – present		

Indicates the referent is not a member of parliament, but in a public leadership position of notable political influence.

Since this study aimed to identify systematic differences in representation of male and female political leaders, two combined corpora were created for each publication: one of comment threads from a range of male politicians and the other threads from females, consisting of approximately 4,800 comments per corpus, to a total of 19,464 comments with a total of 701,883 words. The original aim, to include ten politicians of each gender, had to be extended due to the paucity of comments on females. This further necessitated balancing the range of political parties for each gender, and the final result was 15 females and 12 males. The aim of 500 comments on each referent, was not attainable for all female leaders, and it was deemed that a larger number of referents was acceptable given the study aim to identify common themes and representations in the broad field of gender.

3.9.3   Determining the Range of Commenters

It is necessary to determine if the comments studied represent a select group of commenters who post repeatedly, or a diverse range of people, which can be determined by counting the number of times a given commenter posts overall. However, this study is not concerned with demographics of commenters, apart from the newspaper they choose to comment on and considers the gender of commenters, but not referents, irrelevant to the research aims. Rather, the aim is to identify prominent themes in commenter representation of male and

female politicians. To achieve this, several comment threads were combined for the politician Malcolm Turnbull for the period April - June 2016, to a total of 4000 comments. These were sorted by commenter in Excel and the number of comments per individual calculated. Numbers of individual commenters were then combined according to number of posts each commenter made. Results revealed that almost 20% of commenters posted only once, 5% twice and the number of people posting three or more times fell steadily after this until only one person made more than 13 or more posts in two months. A small number of individuals were identified as posting more than 20 times. These results indicated that there is a wide range of individuals posting only occasionally to newspaper article threads, while high-frequency posters were a select few. To determine if this data was generalisable, the same procedure was repeated using *The Guardian* (U.K.) for posts on Theresa May, on election day 2017, a date chosen because the number of comments was exceptionally high. The same overall pattern was repeated, in fact with a stronger trend towards occasional posting by most individuals. See Figure 3.5 below.

1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0

Number of commenters

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 >20

Number of posts per commenter

■ May, The Guardian, UK   ▫ Turnbull, The Sydney Morning Herald, Aus.
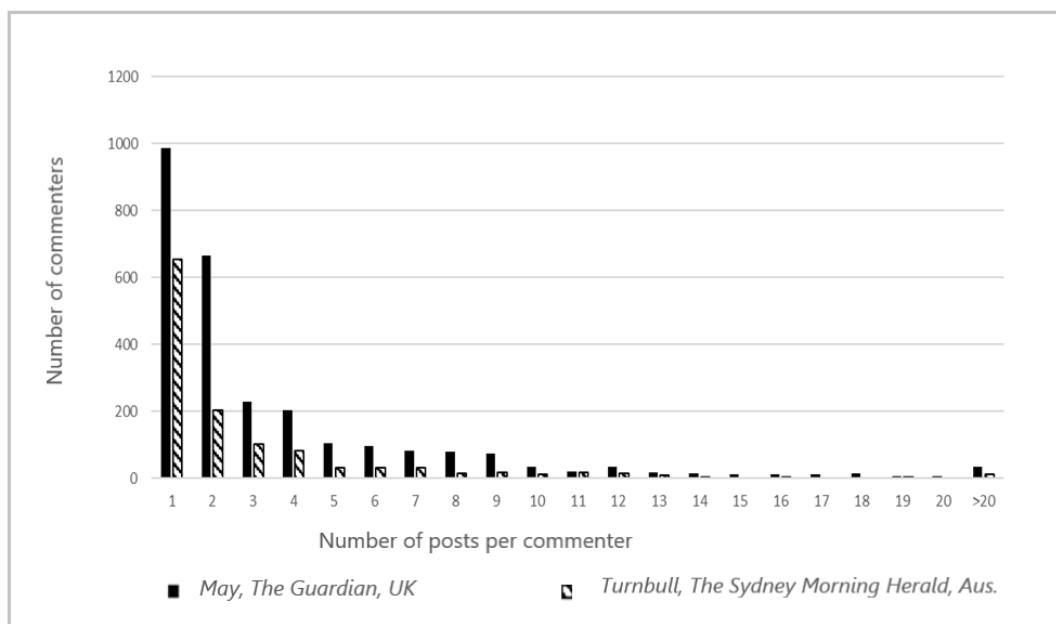
Figure 3.5
Number of comments per person per article in The Australian using the key search term 'Turnbull'. April – June 2016 (total comments 4000; commenters n=975), compared with comments per person for Theresa May, The Guardian UK, 8th June 2017 (comments n=11,000, commenters, 2573).

3.9.4   Examination of Context

The nature of the data under study presented certain challenges for design of the corpora. Firstly, not all newspaper articles provide a space for reader comments, hence a list of retrieved articles was interrogated further to find which ones have comments appended. Secondly, reader contributions vary unpredictably in length and frequency, meaning amounts of data gathered varies according to the referent of interest, their actions and prominence. To avoid selecting only part of a very long comment thread, therefore, it was necessary to select shorter threads with approximately 100 comments. Hence the overall number of comments in each corpus varies somewhat, necessitating use of percentages and other methods of standardisation to compare frequencies of certain themes or linguistic structures.

However, it was still possible to embed the corpora in a well-defined context. Firstly, as specialist corpora, the corpora represent a single text type for each publication, which defines the commenters as belonging to a self-selected group which is likely to display many features of a community of practice (McConnell-Ginet, 2003). The commenters all share the same potential readership, albeit possibly imagined, and are subject to the same rules of

moderation by editors. All articles deal with issues of political governance, and name a referent in the headline/deck, limiting the range of topics under discussion. The largest omission from the analysis created by combining threads is the event or activity which is discussed in the article, but this can be promptly checked by referring back to the concordances, or the article and full thread from which they were taken. Quantitative analysis at the corpus level inevitably includes artefacts such as names of commenters and these may skew the Key Concept profile. For example, one commenter had adopted the name *X is a winner* and was frequently nominated by other commenters, which lead to false identification of winning as a Key Concept, but this was easily identifiable in concordances and omitted from analysis. Similarly, quotes by particular referents, such as *economic girly man* (Cormann) may be repeated in reader comments but were identified and not analysed.

Semantic role analysis can be undertaken at the concordance level to identify aspects of context: one simple method is to make a concordance of conjugated verbs and identify the named referents to the left or right of these as potential agents or patients respectively. The identified concordances can then be examined individually for accuracy, the semantic role of the referent determined, as well as other features of interest, such as use of distinctive pronouns (*we, they*).

3.10   The Final Corpora

Overall numbers of words, comments and word types for the four corpora are shown in table 3.4, along with the statistics for a fifth corpus, News on the Web (*Now*), which as used in some analyses to compare the nature of reader comments in general across both publications with a more mixed, general Australian corpus dealing with similar topics.

The final four corpora consisted of slightly fewer than 5,000 comments each with a total of 702,000 words for the four corpora combined. Corpora from *the Australian* contain approximately 120,000 words each. Comments from *The Australian* had a very similar mean comment length, number of lexical types and tokens to each other but the total number of words was greater for *The Guardian* because most comments were longer. These corpora were labelled Female Australian (*FA*), Male Australian (*MA*) Female Guardian (*FG*) and Male Guardian (*MG*). *The Australian* Corpora show high uniformity, with variations in numbers of

types, tokens and comments within 5%, while type-token ratio is highly similar (F: 8.68, M: 8.7). Another indicator of uniformity was the fact that the most frequent, non-substantive words such as *a, the, and, of* were present in almost identical percentages across the corpora for each publication, which Baker (2014) advises indicates that a corpus has reached at least minimum saturation. The corpus of comments on female politicians for *The Guardian* had a far longer average comment length than the other three corpora, resulting in a higher word count, but I elected to determine the size of *FG* by the number of comments to ensure a similar range of commenters and potential Key Concepts. This discrepancy resulted in the need to adopt a range of measurements of effect size to determine the importance of some results. Further, the opportunistic nature of sampling, along with the combination of comments from different articles limits analysis of changes over time, or contiguous features. As with appraisal, such features may be better identified through focal qualitative analysis. The data were analysed in two phases. The first stage in analysis was to establish the themes arising in the respective corpora. The corpora were studied to identify Key Concepts, key words, parts of speech which were significantly more or less frequent, collocations and identification of useful concordances for later qualitative analysis, which was undertaken in the second phase.

A fifth corpus was used as a reference corpus in selected analyses: News on the Web (NOW) (Davies, 2013), an Australian subcorpus obtained from English.corpora.org, in August 2019. It is composed of a range of online non-specialist, interactive publications including local news bulletins, *Mamamia*, radio stations, *ABC*, sports reports and various trade and professional associations. Comparison of corpora with a relatively neutral corpus enables identification of similarities between the two corpora under examination (Baker,2014, p.43). It also enabled individuation of characteristics common to the genre of politics in reader comments to online newspapers, including lexical richness, expressed in type-token ratio (TTR), sentence length, intensity and predominance of appraisal features such as affect. Descriptive statistics for the NOW (Davies, 2013) were calculated and are included in table 3.4. It was not possible to calculate total comments or mean comment length for the NOW corpus, as it was not entirely composed of reader comments.

Corpus	Total Comments	Types	Tokens	TTR	Mean comment length (words)
FA	4958	13757	119381	11.52	24.0
MA	4736	13661	118429	11.53	25
FG	4979	25242	293691	8.6	58.98
MG	4790	18379	170382	10.7	35.57
Total	**19463**		**701883**		
NOW		13902	111427	12.48	N/A

3.10.1 Preparing and storing the data

When examining a comparison of threads, whether combined, individual, or sample, the following procedures are required to ensure accuracy of results generated. Key word lists were examined to ensure that they represent the original threads, since spam postings, unusual commenter names and other such contextual features can distort key word profiles. This was undertaken by reading through WMatrix output and then comparing this with sample readings in context from the thread transcripts. Key words were compared with Semantic fields (Key Concepts), to determine the accuracy of WMatrix USAS tags. Misclassified words, such as *party* under 'entertainment' rather than 'politics', were tagged to appropriate categories using the USAS classification system. For obvious misclassifications, such as classification of *Bill* (name) under 'Money', erroneous concordances were removed, and statistics recalculated using the Log Likelihood Effect Size Calculator (Rayson, 2002). USAS categories and word lists were analysed for such features as personalisation, assignment of responsibility, adherence to the topic, evaluations and arguments of the politician. Clearly gender-related issues were noted, while the analysis focused on the most outstanding or consistent similarities and differences between representations of males and females as groups to reveal associations or ideologies regarding gender across the commenters.

Once uploaded to WMatrix, the full original texts were retained in an online library, enabling multiple comparisons of data against other datasets, to determine the strength and reliability

of trends noted. Texts retained original features such as spelling, typographical and punctuation errors to minimise interpretation by the researcher.

Concordances were extracted for features of interest which arose from Key Concepts, and included such aspects as topic, evaluative language and language of graduation. Concordances were made for Key Concepts, words or parts of speech for several reasons, such as being high in frequency or especially distinctive. Concordances were generally extended beyond the default 80 characters provided by WMatrix, to 120 characters for analysis of semantic roles, to ensure that all actors relating to the verb were examinable and to enable analysis of contextual features such as events under discussion. Original text from the corpora is represented in *italic* script.

Comments were scraped from below each newspaper article using 'Outwit Hub Pro', and then downloaded to excel files for analysis. (See Appendix 5, points 2 and 3 for examples of an article and its appended comments) Outwit hub pro separates the names of commenters into a dedicated column, making it simple to replace commenters' names with a simple code for confidentiality purposes (see Appendix 5, point 4). Comments were not analysed in any sequence but merely through examination of extracted semantic and grammatical features. As detailed above, numbers of comments varied by gender, publication and over time, hence randomising sequential presentation of threads aimed to minimise any time bound features of representation.

Rather than comparing the corpora with a reference corpus, we used a specialised corpora approach as described by Baker (2014, p.9-10). comparing the corpora for the female corpus from each publication with that for the males, to reveal thematic and linguistic differences. This was advantageous because the corpora were from the same time period, represented Australian data and could reasonably be expected to deal with similar subject matter, hence more clearly revealing the difference between the two.

Male and female corpora within each publication were compared by semantic analysis using USAS tagging in WMatrix to reveal the greatest differences thematically, and semantically. All Key Concepts which reached statistical significance in terms of frequency of concepts were examined for accurate classification as previously outlined and new labels were assigned to the categories to accurately reflect their content. Categories based on misclassification of

lexicon (e.g., USAS category 'Length and Width' for (Bill) *Shorten*) were excluded when these were thematically and semantically irrelevant. Where key words were misclassified, such as *green* as a colour rather than a political party, the erroneous classification was overridden by specifying USAS preferences, then uploading the data again to WMatrix. The final entire USAS tables for the four corpora, male compared with female in each publication are presented in Chapter 4.

Key Concepts of greatest difference between the genders were examined for each publication. Concordances in these key concepts were examined line by line to identify arguments or topoi arising, evaluative lexicon, lexicon of affect, lexicon of graduation and parts of speech which were significantly higher in one corpus than the other. At this stage the investigation was exploratory and identified all significant differences between corpora for further analysis and evidence of differential representation by gender, even where such differences were not immediately interpretable. Martin and White's appraisal (2005) model was used to interrogate concordances for features such as emotion, categories dealing with personal qualities and the resulting collocations were examined for features of affect toward the subject, and judgement respectively. Similarly, words reflecting graduation were identified through their USAS tags.

To prepare for close, or qualitative analysis of comments, outstanding Key Concepts and parts of speech were identified for deep qualitative analysis either because they were significantly different in frequency between males and females within one publication, or highly distinctive. For example, the theme of 'money' was identified as it was clearly more frequent in both female corpora than male, while 'Crime' was chosen because it was an unexpected and unusual finding. Parts of speech which were statistically more frequent in one corpora than another in the same publication were also noted for later examination of typical appraisal features such as adjectives, adverbs, realis and irrealis tenses and verbs more common in a given person or tense, which could yield information about, for example, the actors of the verb.

Significance of differences between the two corpora was mostly measured through Log Likelihood, to allow for the non-parametric or non-normative nature of the data. Log Ratio scores were also included to clarify the effect size, Logistic Regression was employed to

determine which Key Concepts most frequently co-occurred, and these statistics were accompanied by Odds Ratio, a measure which expresses the probability of an association occurring versus not occurring.

Regarding qualitative analysis, it was necessary to amalgamate all referents by gender, so that evaluations made about individuals could be summated according to whether they were directed at males or females. Thus, collocations were analysed by combining the male and female corpora within each publication, then running a 'find' and 'replace' on the names of all referents, which were replaced with the terms *man* or *woman*. This enabled detection of the highest collocations within each gender, rather than being distributed among individual names. Where necessary, the resulting lists were separated by gender again and analysed automatically using the USAS Key Concepts analyser. This facilitated recognition of subthemes within collocations within each gender for further qualitative analysis, and also as a point of comparison with the original four experimental corpora. Table 3.5 shows concordances of original text (example (1), followed by text reduced to gender identification (2).

Table 3.5
Concordances of original text from FA compared with same concordances converted to man/woman only

1)   *Was there ever an explanation for that?* **Triggs** *credibility, given her inconsistent and evasive answer*

2)   *Was there ever an explanation for that?* **WOMAN'S** *credibility, given* **WOMAN'S** *inconsistent and evasive answer*

3.10.2   Statistical Measures

Statistically significant occurrences of words or members of a Key Concept were calculated, then ranked by their significance: whether their frequency differed sufficiently from the reference corpus to indicate this was not due to chance. To calculate significance of frequencies of words/expressions relative to a reference corpus, WMatrix, like most corpus analysis software, employs log likelihood (Rayson, 2002). More standard inferential statistical

methods such as chi squared are based on the presumption of normative distribution, while relative frequencies in language can be highly skewed (McEnery & Hardie, 2011, p.52), giving false high rankings for many words due to the patterned nature of language. Rayson tested chi squared, Mann Whitney U and other software for nominal data, finding similar levels of accuracy for very large samples, but poor accuracy in the standard parametric test when samples were small (Rayson, 2002, p.97). Log likelihood is also more sensitive in revealing small differences in frequency and can be accompanied by 'log ratio' (Hardie, 2014), which provides a more comprehensible measure of the ratio of words in a data sample to their proportion in a reference corpus. (Rayson, 2002, p.99; Hardie, 2014). Log ratio was created by Hardie (2014) to be used in conjunction with Log Likelihood as the latter measures statistical significance only but does not reveal the size of the difference of two samples. Log ratio (LR) presents ratios as logarithm to the base 2, so that a word twice as common in one corpus than another will have a log ratio of 1, each increase of 1 in LR representing a doubling of the frequency (Hardie, 2014, para 9). Statistical significance of frequency scores in WMatrix, or p values, are set extremely low ($p<0.001$), to compensate for the higher likelihood of false significant findings in natural language samples (Rayson, 2002 p. 94). As will be explained in chapter 4, effect size was also measured using odds ratio (OR), which is independent of the sample size and indicates the magnitude of the effect of the differences between corpora (Gries, 2015).

3.10.3   Other Quantitative Analyses

Despite having a similar number of comments, *FG* had an overall higher word count and comment length, which posed some difficulties in deciding how to calculate the significance of samples taken from the corpora. One option was reducing overall numbers which would involve sampling many fewer comments and hence fewer contributors to *FG*, thus potentially reducing the range of opinions, number of Key Concepts and themes. Alternatively, calculating frequency of an aspect of appraisal as percentage of word count was likely to result in artificially low percentages for *FG*. Hence, it was necessary to choose among different measures for quantitative calculations: percent by number of comments, percent by number of tokens and percent by sentence, depending on the typical level of the appraisal feature examined. For example, emotion was more accurately calculated as percent of comments as it indicated how many comments were highly emotional. However, intensifiers were

calculated as percentage of tokens as this indicated how densely spaced intense lexemes were among total words produced. Baker (2014, Chapter 7) in fact endorses the necessity of using different measures or ratios for different investigations, given the non-random nature of language, and the distributional differences between language features. Compared to the NOW corpus, both Australian corpora had a similar number of types and TTR, while in *The Guardian* Corpora lexical variety was evidently much higher (see table 3.4, p. 98 above).

Due to different frequency of features under study in the corpora, where necessary frequency was measured according to all possible parameters: sentences, comments and tokens. The measures were divided one from the other for each parameter and the highest and lowest values recorded to present the ratios as a range. Given the mixture of measurements, in these cases it was not possible to calculate statistical significance, but only ratios of percentages, which nonetheless illustrated the magnitude of differences between two features being compared. This process is presented in figure 3.6.

Frequency corpus A = 14   **Frequency corpus B = 4**

Convert frequency of A and B into percentages by number of sentences, comments and tokens respectively.

Divide percentage A by percentage B for sentences, comments and tokens respectively.

Select only the highest and lowest percentages from the measures of sentences, comments and tokens as the range of frequency differences between A and B for frequency.

% A sentences ÷	% A comments ÷	% A tokens ÷
% B sentences	% B comments	% B tokens
2.53	**3.38**	**2.03**

Appraisal feature is between 2.03 and 3.38 times more frequent in corpus A

Figure 3.6

Method of comparing range of relative frequencies of types or tokens between two corpora to compensate for longer comment length in FG

3.11   Linguistic Analyses

The initial approach to qualitative analysis drew on The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017) as it identifies useful global strategies such as use of topoi, how the referent is named (nomination) and predication, which frequently reveals the site of

evaluation of the referent. Like Martin and White (2005) it examines features of judgement, emotion and commenters' position but organised into succinct and recognisable tropes including simile, metaphor and metonymy (See chapter 2.11). DHA methods were also deemed appropriate as DHA primarily targets societal issues, such as how Austrian newspapers construct nationhood or immigrants (p. 69), which, using a personal stratification as an analytical paradigm are appropriate for gender. During analysis it became increasingly evident that processes arising in the data, were relevant to Van Leeuwen's (2008) models of Substitution and Legitimation, while Martin and White (2005) provided detail on judgement and graduation which enabled application of different search strategies to the data, revealing extra detail about commenter stance, detailed below.

Features such as nomination can be identified using WMatrix, firstly in purely quantitative terms, by comparing ratios of use of different titles and names, then through key word analysis and final checking at the concordance level. Concordances of copulars such as *is* can be searched to identify statements such as *'(Referent) is a/an'.* Searches of adjectives can be undertaken to reveal adjective-noun combinations frequently used in appraisal. Similar techniques can be used to identify predication by identifying verbs, adjectives and adverbs that collocate with a referent's name. Perspectivisation corresponds largely to Martin and White's (2005, p.35) 'engagement' or Bednarek's (2006) and Kärkkäinen's (2006) 'epistemic stance'. This can be achieved through searches of concordances with MWEs such as *I think/believe* and Key Concepts within WMatrix such as 'probability + or – '.

Semantic roles as examined by Van Leeuwen (2008) as a feature of substitutions, deletions and rearrangements (Chapter 2.10) provide important information about agency or lack thereof, or missing information, all of which reveal much about how the commenter appraises a referent. Use of the key word concordancer to collate all threads containing a referent's name reveals such semantic role features as activation: *Gillard stated today that*, and passivisation: *the embattled Prime Minister was questioned by journalists*. Other actors in the comment can equally be identified in the thread, through key word search, such as *Most people/ nobody/ Australians* providing clues to subjectivity of the stance. Syntactically related verbs, adjectives and adverbs can be analysed for their exact denotations for semantic features such as negativity or generalisation. Further, verbs can refer to actions or reactions. Representations of actions can reveal much about the writer's stance on the referent's

effectiveness: actions can be transactive (*Cash attacked the union representatives*) or non-transactive, where the action creates no discernible outcomes (*Triggs cannot...continue).*

Reactions often express an emotion, attitude or cognitive action attributed to the syntactical subject by the writer, such as: *Australians want / nobody likes*. These generalisations represent attempts by the commenter to increase the legitimacy of their opinions and can be extracted through concordances of selected words. Van Leeuwen notes a tendency for writers in print media to present their own reactions as cognitive, and those of others as affective (2008, p.58), creating an inverse relationship between social power of actors and the amount of emotion attributed to them (p. 56).

POS searches can reveal appraisal strategies and can be carried out on specific threads or combined threads for verbs, adjectives, and adverbs and items with particularly different type/ token ratios relative to a comparison corpus. Alternatively, original threads can be examined closely in a refined corpus. Specific parts of speech can be examined at more detailed levels to reveal possible stance, such as modal verbs, indicating doubt, (*It could be him*) or moral stance (*She should resign*). Adjectives can be examined within broader Key Concepts, such as 'appearance' or 'strength' or in certain forms, such as comparatives (*longer*) or superlatives (*longest*).

In terms of legitimation, key words can be examined for lexical items which represent possible authorities such as the government, the law, celebrities and political figures other than the protagonist of the thread. Moral legitimation may be individuated through tagged semantic clouds, individual adjectives and adverbs, connotations and denotations of various verbs and nouns. Again, it is intended that this will be an iterative process, so that isolation of certain terms, Multi Word Expressions (MWEs) and parts of speech with moralising value at the thread level will spark further examination at the corpus level and possible adjustment of semantic tags.

3.11.1   Procedures for Linguistic Analysis

My study first used WMatrix semantic parser to collect quantitative measures of differences in Key Concepts, Key Words and parts of speech between the two corpora from each publication. It also collected aspects of intensification yielded by USAS semantic tagging such

as degree boosters (*highly, very*), maximisers (e.g., *totally, completely*) and minimisers (*slightly, hardly*).

In the qualitative phase, statistically significant results were examined at the thread level for major subthemes, prominent POS (such as modal verbs which can yield information about attitude) and any recurrent key words particular to a corpus. Linguistic analysis was undertaken on selected comments or comment threads to identify and describe various linguistic features such as stance marking and other pragmatic features arising, semantic features and tropes such as metaphor, which may only have been identifiable across several words (invoked appraisal). These were coded using an in vivo approach (Manning, 2017) and results analysed using linguistic methods as detailed in the previous chapter, then coded a second time by a trained coder. Later in the analysis, a particular Key Concept (e.g., 'Positive evaluation', 'Spending money') was examined across threads of both genders to assess arising and whether they differed by gender or corpus. Where appropriate, similar evaluations of different referents were summated by gender, collocations were analysed by removing referents' names from the corpus and replacing with generic terms MAN and WOMAN.

3.12   Conclusion

In summary, the study began with Corpus Linguistic methods to extract trends and overall patterns from the datasets. The programme WMatrix was used to extract data according to methods of corpus linguistics, including semantic field analysis, key word identification, collocations of important names and topics. Features of interest were traced to the level of threads using range and dispersion statistics to find their areas of highest concentration. These threads were then analysed for appraisal, in the form of judgement, affect, engagement and graduation (Martin and White, 2005), reinforced by a semantic role analysis using Van Leeuwen's (2008) model. Reisigl et al's.(2017) Discourse Historical model was drawn upon as a means to examine typical linguistic devices such as metaphor, metonymy, similes, litotes and other tropes which are not formally included in the other two analyses. This approach draws widely on the methodology of CADS as it employs techniques of CL, then extends the analysis through close examination of text and application of methods of discourse analysis. This approach enables identification of patterns in large datasets yielded by the internet in order to reveal patterns of power relations and status within discourse. The next chapter will

present the results of thematic and quantitative analyses on major Key Concepts identified in the data for the four corpora created from the two publications.

CHAPTER 4 Results 1: Mapping the Corpora

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, on research design, details how four corpora were created by scraping online newspaper reader comments from two publications: *The Australian* and *The Guardian*. Comment threads were selected through a search of newspaper articles for headlines which included the names of twelve female and ten male political leaders, termed 'referents'. Thus, four corpora were created, one of each gender for each publication, hereafter referred to as the 'experimental corpora': *Female Australian* (*FA*), *Male Australian* (*MA*), *Female Guardian* (*FG)* and *Male Guardian (MG)*. Reader comments were then selected which contained the name and / or a pronoun referring to the political leader and the programme. WMatrix was used to identify key semantic concepts in comments on male versus female referents for each publication. These comments were then analysed using both quantitative techniques, to examine Key Concepts as identified by WMatrix, and other themes identified by parts of speech, or subthemes within the Key Concepts. Concordances, collocations and line-by-line examination were used to identify features of appraisal of the referents. Quantitative data was also collected for each of the four corpora in comparison to a less specialized Australian corpus, the *NOW (News on the Web)* to reveal the common properties of the experimental corpora. This chapter will begin by reporting and analysing the overall characteristics of the corpora in terms of quantitative data on themes, termed Key Concepts by WMatrix, and prominent linguistic structures. It will then analyse the effect of gender, political allegiance, on Key Concepts in the corpora and examine Key Concepts for qualitative features of appraisal.

4.2 Structure and Conventions of Online Comments

Online reader comments to newspapers present several challenges to CADS methods for recording context due to their complex structure. As there are multiple contributors, single threads contain a wide variety of authors contributing asynchronously and hence potentially multiple levels of civility, and personal ideologies and beliefs. Comments may address the topic of the article to which they are appended or pursue a different topic of interest to the

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commenter. Further, successive comments in a thread may form an ongoing discussion or comment independently. Because of all these features, it is difficult to identify a single context for comments in a thread. Instead, it was decided to limit analysis to the commenters' appraisal of the referents and their actions. Preliminary analysis of data for this study indicated that formality and style varied considerably levels of between individual comments, depending on the topic, the commenter's stance the publication and combinations of all three. Also, as an interactive genre, newspaper comments present an array of addressees: commenters may direct comments at journalists and authors, other commenters, and a variety of public individuals, including other politicians. This needs to be considered in analysis, so results of the first, or quantitative stage of this research only provide a broad indication of the nature of appraisals and topics of interest. Qualitative analysis can reduce this inaccuracy in several ways, for example, by creating concordances with a referent's name through creation of concordances of verbs, then determining the referents' semantic roles, such as agent, patient or experiencer or by examining significant collocations with the referent's name. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in order to assess appraisal of referents more accurately by gender, a further sorting of the corpora was undertaken, which removed all referents names and replaced them with the words *woman* and *man*. In this way collocations of appraisals for individuals were able to be statistically summated to demonstrate gender differences.

4.3 Comparison of Key Concepts by Gender

4.3.1 *The Australian* Corpora

When the two corpora from *The Australian*, *FA* and *MA,* were compared by prominent UCREL (semantic) Key Concepts, large differences were found, with some themes clearly emerging for each gender. Out of the 34 Key Concepts in *MA* with statistically significant log likelihoods and odds ratios greater than 1 relative to *FA*, six Key Concepts were in the theme of governance: ''Law and Order', 'In power,' 'Politics,' 'Government,' ''Politicians names' and 'Parliamentary Terms'. The last two Key Concepts were renamed following line by line analysis, the original Key Concept tags being 'Personal names' and 'Furniture and Parts of Buildings'. 'Personal names' consisted mostly of nomination of other politicians, while 'Furniture', consisted mostly of parliamentary terms: *seat, cabinet, bench,* (*cross the) floor;*

pillars (of democracy); chamber (Table 4.1). After removal of all concordances not relevant to their new names, the differences between *FA* and *MA* in these Key Concepts recalculated using the WMatrix Log likelihood calculator (Rayson, 2016) and remained statistically significant with an effect size (odds ratio) greater than 1.   Where Key Concepts have been renamed and recalculated, the new names are included in brackets in tables 4.1 to 4.4. The complete list of comparisons of key concepts by gender for each newspaper are found in Appendix 2, pp. 340-364.

Table 4.1
Statistically significant Key Concepts identified in The Australian male corpus compared to the female corpus. Log likelihood over 7 is considered significant

USAS tag	M num	M%	F num.	F%		Log lik.	Log. Rat.	Key Concept
Z1	2059	1.74	926	0.78	+	124.1	1.16	Personal names (Politicians' names)
F2++	80	0.07	2	0	+	95.5	5.33	Excessive drink
F2	148	0.12	51	0.04	+	50.14	1.55	Drinks and alcohol
G2.1	685	0.58	453	0.38	+	49.51	0.61	Law and order
S7.1+	832	0.7	586	0.49	+	44.89	0.52	In power
S3.2	253	0.21	126	0.11	+	44.41	1.02	Relationships: intimacy and sex
E6+	123	0.1	44	0.04	+	39.54	1.49	Confident
S8-	209	0.18	101	0.08	+	39.3	1.06	Hindering
W4	108	0.09	36	0.03	+	38.25	1.6	Weather
G1.2	2317	1.96	1961	1.64	+	32.58	0.25	Politics
S9	515	0.43	362	0.3	+	28.07	0.52	Religion and the supernatural
O4.6+	69	0.06	22	0.02	+	25.87	1.66	Temperature: hot
G1.2	220	0.19	134	0.11	+	21.8	0.73	Parliamentary terms (H5, Furniture and H2, Parts of buildings)
G1.1	1042	0.88	862	0.72	+	18.51	0.29	Government
N6+	235	0.2	155	0.13	+	17.17	0.61	Frequent
X2.1	1080	0.91	906	0.76	+	16.69	0.26	Thought, belief
Q2.1	1263	1.07	1077	0.9	+	16.33	0.24	Speech: communicative
W3	221	0.19	146	0.12	+	16.04	0.61	Geographical Terms
O4.6	11	0.01	0	0	+	15.34	4.47	Temperature
S4	499	0.42	388	0.33	+	14.83	0.37	Kin
X9.2+	205	0.17	142	0.12	+	12.01	0.54	Success
K3	15	0.01	2	0	+	11.36	2.92	Recorded sound
S7.3	14	0.01	2	0	+	10.22	2.82	Competition
S9-	11	0.01	1	0	+	9.83	3.47	Non-religious
A1.1.1	1789	1.51	1626	1.36	+	9.14	0.15	General actions, making
X4.1	388	0.33	311	0.26	+	9.13	0.33	Mental object, conceptual object
Q4.2	163	0.14	114	0.1	+	9.11	0.53	The Media, newspapers
X3	6	0.01	0	0	+	8.37	3.6	Sensory
Q3	344	0.29	276	0.23	+	8.03	0.33	Language, speech and grammar
A6.1+++	190	0.16	140	0.12	+	8.01	0.45	Comparing: similar
N3.1	18	0.02	5	0	+	7.9	1.86	Measurement: general

USAS tag	M num	M%	F num.	F%		Log lik.	Log. Rat.	Key Concept
A15-	50	0.04	27	0.02	+	7.16	0.9	**Danger**

When *MA* was compared with *FA*, (Table 4.1 above), 'Excessive drinking' and 'Drinks and alcohol' referred to an admission by the then Prime Minister Tony Abbott that he had missed the passing of five motions in parliament as he was intoxicated and sleeping in his office. These Key Concepts also referred to a gathering at Parliament house to commemorate Abbott's loss of the Prime Ministership, where alcohol was consumed to excess by parliamentarians and furniture in parliament house was damaged. Other significant Key Concepts in *MA* referred to policy. 'Relationships, intimacy and sex', 'Religion' and 'Kin' that largely dealt with the Same Sex Marriage bill which passed in the time of the sample, with frequent use of vocabulary such as *marriage, gay, homosexuality, children, Catholic.* 'Weather' and 'Temperature' (two significant Key Concepts) referred to discussion around global warming. Key lemmas relating to political roles, were *influen*(*ce*) (*MA*-21, *FA*=6) and *lead*(*er*(*ship*)) (*MA*=152, *FA*=82), which were two and three times more frequent in *MA* than *FA*. The Key Concept of 'Kin' was higher in *MA*, contrary to findings from previous research about family and personalisation in the literature. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the dominant subject matter did not concern family responsibilities, but family connections and also same sex marriage. Other statistically significant Key Concepts were 'competition', 'confident' and 'Success' which could be interpreted either as related to traditional male gender characterisation, or leadership or politics, as an adversarial, competitive profession. Examination of concordances for Key Concepts 'Weather' and 'Temperature' revealed that these were dominated by discussion of global warming, and hence also policy related.

Table 4.2

Statistically significant Key Concepts identified in The Australian female corpus (FA) compared to the male corpus (MA)

FA USAS tag	f num	f%	m num	m%		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
I1.1	726	0.61	212	0.18	+	293.68	1.76	**Money and pay**
I1	420	0.35	175	0.15	+	101.99	1.25	**Money generally**
I1.2	399	0.33	189	0.16	+	75.01	1.07	**Money: debts**
T3+	194	0.16	65	0.05	+	66.18	1.57	**Time: Old**
I3.1-	184	0.15	67	0.06	+	55.77	1.45	**Unemployed**
I2.1	284	0.24	151	0.13	+	40.26	0.9	**Business: generally,**
I1.3	306	0.26	171	0.14	+	37.66	0.83	**Money: cost and price**
M5	90	0.08	26	0.02	+	36.85	1.78	**Flying and aircraft**
G2.1-	220	0.18	113	0.1	+	34.15	0.95	**Crime**
B2-	206	0.17	105	0.09	+	32.6	0.96	**Disease**
I3.1	626	0.52	443	0.37	+	30.03	0.49	**Work and employment, generally**
A5.1+	707	0.59	521	0.44	+	26.81	0.43	**Evaluation: good**
T3++	41	0.03	8	0.01	+	24.05	2.35	**Time: very old**
X4.2	271	0.23	172	0.15	+	21.53	0.64	**Mental object, means method**
T1.1.3	1043	0.87	835	0.71	+	21.45	0.31	**Time: future**
X2.6+	194	0.16	116	0.1	+	19.22	0.73	**Expected**
X2.4	212	0.18	130	0.11	+	19.2	0.69	**Investigate, examine, test, search**
I2.2	164	0.14	96	0.08	+	17.45	0.76	**Business: selling**
M1	1133	0.95	940	0.79	+	16.48	0.26	**Moving, coming and going**
L2	242	0.2	163	0.14	+	14.88	0.56	**Living creatures**
Z4	1469	1.23	1257	1.06	+	14.85	0.21	**Discourse bin**
T3-	160	0.13	101	0.09	+	12.98	0.65	**Time: young**
I1.1+	45	0.04	17	0.01	+	12.89	1.39	**Money: affluence**
A1.5.1	138	0.12	85	0.07	+	12.3	0.69	**Using**
T3	89	0.07	48	0.04	+	12.13	0.88	**Time: old and young**
X5.2-	43	0.04	17	0.01	+	11.44	1.33	**Uninterested/bored/unenergetic**
Z8	12814	10.73	12189	10.29	+	11.02	0.06	**Pronouns**
A1.2	12	0.01	1	0	+	10.88	3.57	**Suitability**
T1.3	559	0.47	451	0.38	+	10.72	0.3	**Time: period**
S1.2.2+	23	0.02	6	0.01	+	10.5	1.93	**Greedy**
S1.1.4+	52	0.04	24	0.02	+	10.34	1.1	**Deserving**
X2.2-	102	0.09	61	0.05	+	10.1	0.73	**No knowledge**
X3.4	380	0.32	298	0.25	+	9.3	0.34	**Sensory: sight**
X7+	664	0.56	553	0.47	+	9.27	0.25	**Wanted**
Z7	626	0.52	519	0.44	+	9.18	0.26	**If**
E2++	64	0.05	34	0.03	+	9.09	0.9	**Like**
S7.4+	349	0.29	273	0.23	+	8.71	0.34	**Allowed**
E2-	135	0.11	90	0.08	+	8.7	0.57	**Dislike**
S7.2-	56	0.05	29	0.02	+	8.51	0.94	**No respect**
I1.2-	10	0.01	1	0	+	8.48	3.31	**Debt-free**
T2++	294	0.25	226	0.19	+	8.38	0.37	**Time: beginning**
I1.2+	6	0.01	0	0	+	8.27	3.57	**Spending**
A4.1	349	0.29	276	0.23	+	7.97	0.33	**Generally: kinds, groups, examples**
M3	131	0.11	90	0.08	+	7.33	0.53	**Vehicles**

In contrast, for the female corpus from *The Australian* (*FA*) (Table 4.2 above), the entire 211 Key Concepts identified as significantly more frequent compared to *MA,* with large effect sizes (OR<1) contained no governance-related topics, with the possible exception of business. The 44 Key Concepts of statistically significant greater frequency are presented in table 4.2. Key Concepts significantly higher in *FA* included five Key Concepts related to aspects of money or finance which were highly significant, log likelihoods compared to *MA* being 293.7, 101.9,75, 37.6 and 12.89; where 7 is considered statistically significant. Four other highly significant Key Concepts were 'unemployment', 'flying and aircraft', 'vehicles and transport' and most unexpectedly, 'Crime'. With the exception of 'Crime' all these Key Concepts could be construed as tangentially related to politicians' work, since politicians handle budgets, receive allowances to complete their duties and travel extensively as part of their duties. The Key Concept 'Employment' largely concerned comments on loss of work status by the female referent, or speculation that she should either retire or be sacked as shown in the sample of concordances in Figure 4.1 below.

184 occurrences.		
s right he never actually	fired	a shot anywhere close to a
ood up for the young lady	sacked	in Canberra for daring to
The greens party needs to	sack	her . SHY . Needs to think
in toe I would have been	fired	on the spot . Double think
stolen it . She ought be	sacked	immediately as she would i
other words and she 'd be	sacked	. That comment completely
pt over time . She can be	sacked	- her publicly available c
obfuscate in my job I am	sacked	. In the words of dear Lab
or 46 ? Years . She is at	retirement	age . Best she should go r
stare at a wall until she	retires	. Steve dagworth Steve , i
detention of children and	strike	a blow for her ideology an
government has grounds to	sack	her , and should proceed t
an report . She should be	sacked	, not requested to resign
tax paid on Transition to	Retirement	pensions and she still doe
tax on your Transition to	Retirement	income until you turn 60 .
superannuation before she	got the boot	. I am amazed that the Lib
ng about re transition to	retirement	. Kelly O'Dwyer is too you

Figure 4.1
Wmatrix output of Concordance by Key Concept of 'Unemployed' in FA (Female Australian) Corpus

Three significant Key Concepts; 'Investigate', 'If' and 'Future' were found in qualitative analysis to be frequently related to the Key Concepts of 'money' and 'crime' since the concordances were frequently concerned with possible misuse of monetary allowances, assertions of

possible criminal behaviour and discussion by commenters of the need to investigate the female referents' spending behaviour, as well as speculation on possible motivations, actions and future fate and pragmatic features of the discourse such as querying, speculating and formation of arguments ('If', 'future'). The concordances of these will be further examined in Chapter 5.

Evaluative Key Concepts included 'Evaluation: Good', 'Greedy' 'Deserving', 'Uninterested /Bored/ Unenergetic', 'Dislike', only the first of which were positive, in contrast to evaluative concepts in *MA* mentioned above. However, as previously noted, the presence of a significantly higher Key Concept does not reveal its relationship to the referent at this level, nor even its polarity, as it can be modified by contextualising words. All above concepts will be further analysed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Other prominent concepts included 'Time: Old and Young', which will not be examined in detail because they refer to the name of Greens Senator Sarah Hanson-Young and her quote about *grumpy old white men,* and all instances of concordances containing this phrase were removed from analysis of emotions*. The Guardian* corpora

4.3.2   *The Guardian* Corpora

FG and *MG* were far less differentiated than *The Australian* corpora in terms of politics/governance, but otherwise they showed similar tendencies in Key Concepts to *The Australian* corpora in terms of gender associations. *FG,* shown in table 4.3 below*,* had significantly higher frequency than *MG* in 'Education', 'People', 'Kin' and 'Time: beginning' with large effect sizes (OR>1).

Table 4.3

Statistically significant Key Concepts identified in The Guardian female corpus compared to the male corpus

USAS	F num	F %	M num	M %		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
Z2	2289	0.94	1191	0.7	+	70.7	0.43	Geographical terms
I1	889	0.36	389	0.23	+	62.92	0.68	Money
P1	596	0.24	242	0.14	+	54.51	0.79	Education
B5	494	0.2	202	0.12	+	44.18	0.77	Clothes
S7.2+	283	0.12	94	0.05	+	43.65	1.07	Respected
M7	759	0.31	372	0.22	+	32.81	0.51	Places
S2	1448	0.59	791	0.46	+	32.05	0.36	People (Sexism)
B2	76	0.03	13	0.01	+	29.69	2.03	Health
G1.1	2839	1.16	1682	0.98	+	29.63	0.24	Government
S1.1.1	479	0.2	219	0.13	+	28.51	0.61	Social Processes
E3-	940	0.38	491	0.29	+	28.33	0.42	Violent/Angry
W1	219	0.09	83	0.05	+	24.52	0.88	The
X6	50	0.02	7	0	+	23.01	2.32	Deciding
O1.1	337	0.14	153	0.09	+	20.65	0.62	Substances
N3.8	49	0.02	8	0	+	19.95	2.1	Measurement: speed
S4	741	0.3	395	0.23	+	19.55	0.39	Kin
E2-	276	0.11	122	0.07	+	18.8	0.66	Dislike
T3	161	0.07	66	0.04	+	14.28	0.77	Time: young (Royal Baby)
N5---	130	0.05	50	0.03	+	13.97	0.86	Quantities: little
Z8	26853	10.97	18144	10.59	+	13.26	0.05	Pronouns
B2-	423	0.17	223	0.13	+	12.02	0.41	Mental Health
N3.2+++	96	0.04	36	0.02	+	11.06	0.9	Size: Big
S1.1.4+	113	0.05	45	0.03	+	10.97	0.81	Deserving
Q4	326	0.13	168	0.1	+	10.68	0.44	The Media
S8+	1230	0.5	740	0.43	+	10.66	0.22	Helping
S3.2	270	0.11	135	0.08	+	10.51	0.48	Relationship: intimacy and sex
O4.2+	340	0.14	179	0.1	+	9.74	0.41	Judgement of Appearance, positive
Q4.1	127	0.05	57	0.03	+	8.15	0.64	The Media, books
I3.1	897	0.37	539	0.31	+	7.9	0.22	Work and employment, generally
I1.3+	31	0.01	6	0	+	7.59	1.58	Expensive
G1.1-	12	0	1	0	+	7.46	3.07	Non-governmental
X8++	7	0	0	0	+	7.43	3.29	Trying hard
G2.2-	482	0.2	276	0.16	+	7.17	0.29	Unethical
A5.1+	1239	0.51	767	0.45	+	7.17	0.18	Evaluation: good
X9.2+	385	0.16	215	0.13	+	7.15	0.33	Success

The Key Concept 'People' was renamed 'sexism' because the majority of key words consisted of *feminist/m* and *sexist/m*. In preparing this Key Concept, all general references to people were removed from *FG* and *MG*, and log likelihood recalculated. 'Time: beginning' was renamed 'royal baby' and the same filtering and recalculation of significance undertaken because almost all comments referred to the Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, knitting a toy for the royal baby. Finally, the Key Concept 'Judgement of Appearance; positive' contained comments with a variety of expressions of approval, including appearance (see Table 4.3 above). *FG* contained two statistically higher Key Concepts about money, 'Money generally' and 'Expensive' with less extreme log likelihood values of loglikelihood 62.9 (OR =1.51) and 7.59 (OR-=3) respectively, although it had the highest log likelihood score compared to *MG* and was therefore the most prominent thematic difference. Further, there were five other Key concepts in the theme of money which, while not reaching significance for log likelihood, had odds ratios greater than one, further supporting the prominence of money themes in the two female corpora. There were no Key Concepts for money in *MG*.

The Key Concept in *FG* most closely reflecting findings of gender stereotyping found in past research was 'clothing,' which was absent from the other corpora, and significantly higher than *MG*, even when quotes and metaphorical/idiomatic examples were removed (LL=44.18; LR=.77) Examination of concordances revealed several references to designer attire, expensive shoes, hairstyles and clothing colour, while in *MG* they referred to one politician's penchant for wearing leather jackets, and politicians in expensive suits.

Key Concepts in *MG* compared to *FG* are shown in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4

Statistically significant Key Concepts identified in The Guardian male corpus compared to the female corpus

USAS	M num	M %	F num	F %		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
M5	142	0.08	77	0.03	+	71.01	1.67	Flying
T1.1.3	1218	0.71	1527	0.52	+	67.6	0.46	Time: future
A7+	2553	1.5	3688	1.26	+	46.53	0.25	Likely
L2	397	0.23	426	0.15	+	45.49	0.68	Living creatures, animals
G2.1	849	0.5	1090	0.37	+	40.78	0.43	Law and order
G3	345	0.2	379	0.13	+	36.09	0.65	Warfare, defence and the army
F2	113	0.07	88	0.03	+	31.45	1.15	Drinks and alcohol
S1.2.3+	191	0.11	188	0.06	+	29.41	0.81	Selfish
F4	70	0.04	45	0.02	+	27.51	1.42	Farming and horticulture
W3	331	0.19	390	0.13	+	25.5	0.55	Geographical terms
L3	82	0.05	62	0.02	+	24.22	1.19	Plants
Z7	716	0.42	981	0.33	+	21.51	0.33	If
X9.1-	180	0.11	219	0.07	+	11.8	0.5	Inability/unintelligence
O4.3	265	0.16	345	0.12	+	11.63	0.4	Colour /patterns
H4-	20	0.01	10	0	+	11.04	1.79	Non-resident
B1	753	0.44	1109	0.38	+	10.98	0.23	Anatomy and physiology
F3	42	0.02	34	0.01	+	10.76	1.09	Smoking/drugs
F2++	14	0.01	5	0	+	10.73	2.27	Excessive drinking
S1.2.5-	71	0.04	71	0.02	+	10.4	0.79	Weak
S7.1+	1267	0.74	1946	0.66	+	10.12	0.17	In power
F2+++	5	0	0	0	+	10.02	4.11	Excessive drinking
S7.3+	27	0.02	18	0.01	+	10.01	1.37	Competitive
Q3	434	0.25	615	0.21	+	9.64	0.28	Lang., speech, grammar
S1.2.6-	216	0.13	282	0.1	+	9.3	0.4	Foolish
T1.3-	38	0.02	32	0.01	+	8.91	1.03	Time period short
Z4	1520	0.89	2379	0.81	+	8.58	0.14	Discourse bin
E4.1+	274	0.16	374	0.13	+	8.49	0.34	Happy
K1	460	0.27	664	0.23	+	8.45	0.26	Entertainment generally
I3.1-	116	0.07	139	0.05	+	8.22	0.52	Unemployed
X8+	347	0.2	489	0.17	+	8.13	0.29	Trying hard
S7.4	4	0	0	0	+	8.02	3.79	Permission
G1.2	1949	1.14	3105	1.06	+	7.39	0.11	Politics
T2-	359	0.21	513	0.17	+	7.34	0.27	Time: ending
N3.2-	115	0.07	141	0.05	+	7.23	0.49	Size: small
S1.2.4-	58	0.03	61	0.02	+	7.16	0.71	Impolite

MG, like *MA* contained several Key Concepts that could be more traditionally associated with masculinity. 'Warfare, defence' largely consisted of metaphors regarding political competition, such as *political weapons, climate wars* and *sniping at the opposition*. 'Drinks and alcohol,' and 'Excessive drinking,' as in *MA*, were significantly higher than the female corpus from the same publication, with large effect sizes (OR>1). Significant Key Concepts in *MG* 'Plants' and 'Farming and horticulture' indicated a large amount of discussion in the areas of agriculture and environmental degradation.

Other Key Concepts significantly higher in *MG* than *FG* may represent expected male qualities, including 'Selfish' which was dominated by lexicon around egotism and arrogance; 'Weak' which included appraisal of male politicians as *gutless* and ineffective, while 'Competitive' centred around political rivalry and adversity. Other significantly higher Key Concepts that may have reflected gender mediated concepts of maleness included 'Living Creatures', where, in contrast to comments to *The Australian,* males were more frequently denominated than females with animal terms *such as pig, dog, toad. The significant Key Concept* 'Anatomy' had several descriptions of actions and characteristics through body parts: *silver-tongued, badmouthing, pull his head in; weak as piss*. Overall, overt vilification was more common for male referents than female in *The Guardian*, as was evident in the Key Concepts 'inability/unintelligent' and 'foolish', which, in agreement with their title, contained vocabulary such as *stupid, moron, idiot* and *cretinous.*

Differences in number of Key Concepts associated with politics and governance were minimal; with two political Key Concepts for the male guardian corpus and one for the female. Several other Key Concepts evidently consisted of topics within a political portfolio or responsibility, with a degree of possible gender-mediation as outlined above.

Like *MA*, *MG* was distinguished by two significant Key Concepts on alcohol and alcohol consumption dealing with the same stories about former Prime Minister Abbott missing important parliamentary sessions due to intoxication, but also contained extensive comments about giving up alcohol, as a response to an announcement by the male referent, Doug Cameron, of his success in becoming teetotal. (0).

In summary, then, it could be stated that Key Concepts in both Guardian corpora contained gender mediated themes in terms of traditional associations such as alcohol consumption,

war and physicality, through references to body parts ('Anatomy') and strength or lack thereof, for males. The Key Concept 'Competition', statistically higher in both male corpora, may reflect masculine traditional roles or the nature of politics as inherently competitive, or indeed both of the aforementioned, situating politics as a male profession. *FG*, with its prominent traditionally female portfolio interests, may merely reflect decisions about awarding of portfolios by the then Prime Minister. Other traditionally female themes such as 'clothing,', 'family '(WMatrix: 'Kin') and 'judgement of appearance' were less obviously linked to political portfolios and may reflect traditional gender stereotyping. In terms of focus on political activities, the distribution was more balanced although there appears to have been more emphasis on actions and processes in the male corpora. The Key Concept 'people', renamed 'sexism' due to the predominant vocabulary, indicated a strong interest in female opportunity in politics, whether supporting it, or denying the existence of differential treatment by gender.

4.3.3 Significant Key Concepts by gender across publications

One last comparison was made between the corpora. Key Concepts were identified by WMatrix for the same gender across publications (i.e., *FA* vs *FG*; *MA* vs *MG* to isolate themes common to each gender. Key Concepts common to the male corpora numbered six and female corpora, 16. These are listed in 0, in order of combined frequency for each gender. Results demonstrate that male corpora contained more governance related terms, the exception being the two concepts on alcohol consumption. Female corpora once again showed prominence of 'money' related Key Concepts ('Money Generally', 'Money and Pay', 'Expensive'); socially related Key Concepts ('People', 'Social Actions, States and Processes), and what may be construed as more traditional female domains such as 'Kin' and 'Education'. Added to that, two concepts regarding time, age and youth may also be construed as a factor of interest more common in representation of females. Two remaining concepts; 'Suitability' and 'Deserving' indicated a possible presence of evaluation of female referents in terms of their appropriateness to a political role.

Table 4.5
Shared Key Concepts between the two male and two female corpora

Female shared concepts	Male shared concepts
Pronouns	In power
Time: Old, grown-up	No power
Time: Old, new and young	Law and order
Kin	Politics
People	Excessive drinking
Deserving	Drinks and alcohol
Social Actions, states and processes	
Education in General	
Expensive	
Money and pay	
Money generally	
Violent/angry	
Disease	
Evaluation: good	
Suitability	

Remaining significant concepts largely included topical issues of politics including the Same Sex Marriage Bill, (''Relationships: Intimacy and Sex';' 'Religion'), under debate when the sample was collected, Climate Change (Key Concepts 'weather' and 'temperature: hot') and names of politicians.

4.4   Comparison of Key Concepts with Neutral NOW Corpus

Key Concepts for each experimental corpus collected from *The Australian* and *The Guardian,* were compared with the NOW corpus (Australian subcorpus on News on the Web) to reveal possible themes and styles common to the four corpora undergoing analysis. This was undertaken to reveal genre features of the two publications, and potentially of the genders across publications. Although NOW consists of a variety of news genres and registers, it represented the best available comparison corpus of Australian English for the period under scrutiny.

 Most common themes found in comparison of the four experimental corpora with NOW were politics/governance related themes including 'in power/no power', followed by 'negativity', 'mental processes' (knowledge, understanding), evaluative and affective Key Concepts including moral evaluation n ('ethics', 'respect', 'obligation'), graduation markers including

intensifiers (boosters, minimisers), exclusivisers (e.g. *only, just*); personal qualities including *selfish, (im)polite, foolish, sensible* and concepts of prediction/speculation such as probability/ *if* and *likely*.

'Speech acts' as a Key Concept (Rayson, 2002) were also significantly more frequent in the four corpora than NOW as well as Key Concepts of money/finance. Hence, apart from the unsurprising focus on politics, the experimental corpora are highly evaluative, more intensified than the neutral NOW corpus, with an evident trend toward commenting on speech acts and dialogue and engaging in speculation about past or future events. That the concept of money was also significantly more frequent in all four experimental corpora also indicates that this has a central role in commenters' interests regarding political activity.

Comparison of key parts of speech, using the POS calculator, revealed that the experimental corpora were rich in interjections, which is more typical of spoken language and also of dialogue. Negatives were also significantly higher in all four corpora as were pronouns (specifically: *I, me, he, she, it, they*) and forms of the verb to be that accompany these (*am, is, are*). Modal verbs were also significantly higher. The other outstanding feature was the prominence of subordinate clause markers including *this*, *that*, *who* and *which*. Determiners (*this*, *that*) were also prominent as well as adverbs.

The above findings appear consistent with spoken dialogic communication, with strong presence of personal voice as well as commentary on other people indicated by personal pronouns. Modal verbs suggest higher preponderance of obligation, prediction and capacity which are a form of evaluation. The prominence of several forms of subordinate clause markers indicates either extended detail, argumentation or opinion (forms such as *I think that; it seems that*).

4.5 Summary of Key Concept investigations

In summary, investigation of Key Concepts showed a strong gender difference between *The Australian* Corpora, with far lower differentiation in *The Guardian*. *The Guardian* also demonstrated smaller differences between non-shared Key Concepts for males and females and a more equal number of governance/politics related Key Concepts. While *FA* contained no governance topics, *MA* was dominated by these. In contrast, Comments in *FA* were

dominated by Key Concepts of spending, earning and use of money for females, as well as use of government resources (flying) and personal/ individual (carer roles) over professional duties, and these were also prominent in *FG*, but not statistically significant in either of the male corpora. The one Key Concept in both male corpora that can be seen to be related to personal behaviour was 'alcohol and excessive drinking'. Overall, the two female corpora shared more concepts than the two male corpora and the former were centred around people, social acts, personal qualities and emotions, while shared male concepts dealt almost exclusively with leadership and governance.

4.6 Logistic Regression

The experimental corpora were created on the basis of gender and newspaper, then compared by gender within each publication to identify statistically significant differences in Key Concepts. It was then useful to establish the relative influence of gender alone on differentiating Key Concepts, as well other discrete, or qualitative independent variables such as political party. Logistic regression measures the probability of co-occurrence of two or more independent variables and can determine its statistical significance (Pampel, 2000). Logistic regression was performed to determine three different relationships within the data:

1. The effect of gender in determining key concepts arising

2. The relative effect of gender compared to the effects of the politicians' party membership on key concepts arising.

3. The effect of gender within each party to determine if commenters were more likely to comment on a particular Key Concept according to the political allegiance of the referent.

Through these three analyses, it was possible to determine if gender alone determined the key concept, whether this interacted with party and the extent to which each referent's political allegiance influenced key concepts arising. Comparison of the interaction of effects of gender with party and within party was undertaken through a line-by-line examination of comments for the prominent USAS Key Concepts, to identify the gender and political party of

the referent, then summating the number of concordances for each referent within each Key Concept, each gender and each political party affiliation. A sample of the Excel sheet is shown in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2
Sample of Logistic regression scoring for comments to The Australian

Results indicated that for *The Australian*, politicians, gender differentiated 11 out of 12 Key Concepts in the corpora at a statistically significant level (p<0.001), 'affluence' being less significant at .019. Key Concepts are listed with odds ratios and significance level in Table 4.6. Links to all logistic regression tables are found in Appendix 4 page 371.

Table 4.6
Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Measuring the Strength of Association of Gender (Femaleness) versus Key Concepts which were Significantly Different between FA and MA (Male and Female Corpora, The Australian)

Key Concept	Comparison	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Money and pay	Female vs Male	3.23 (2.8, 3.72)	<0.001
Money general	Female vs Male	1.71 (1.49, 1.96)	<0.001
Debts	Female vs Male	2.68 (2.24, 3.2)	<0.001
Unemployed	Female vs Male	2.75 (2.1, 3.61)	<0.001
Cost and Price	Female vs Male	2.79 (2.19, 3.55)	<0.001
Flying (travel spending)	Female vs Male	2.72 (2.23, 3.32)	<0.001
Crime	Female vs Male	2.42 (1.92, 3.04)	<0.001
Employment	Female vs Male	1.95 (1.68, 2.25)	<0.001

Key Concept	Comparison	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Future	Female vs Male	1.38 (1.23, 1.54)	<0.001
Investigate	Female vs Male	1.68 (1.38, 2.04)	<0.001
Affluence	Female vs Male	0.72 (0.54, 0.95)	0.019
Using	Female vs Male	2.88 (2.49, 3.34)	<0.001

These results demonstrate the close association of femaleness and concepts of money and spending among the political leaders, being present in four categories ('money and pay', 'money general', 'debts', 'cost and price'). They further indicate an association between money/spending of referents, (un)employment and use of travel allowances (flying), which present as related to the same topos of spending on travel and consequent threats to their employment status. Other statistically significant Key Concepts, determined by the gender of the referent included 'future', 'investigate' and 'using' and similarly, largely dealt with themes of female referents' destiny post-politics, legal investigation and referent use of employment allowances,. as will be explored in Chapter 5.

Logistic regression comparing the relative influence of gender versus political party/allegiance on significantly different Key Concepts revealed that gender determined the differing Key Concepts more than political party. However, the effect of political party was notable for the Key Concepts '(un)employed', 'cost and price' and 'future' and to a lesser extent 'money and pay' and 'debts', all of which reached significance levels of p=<0.001 for political parties for a majority of comparisons, while still remaining of lesser significance than gender overall. This result suggests an interactive effect of gender and political party, although gender dominated.

The effect of the individual referents' party on whether a Key Concept would arise, was measured by comparing effects of gender on the different political allegiances (e.g. Labor, Coalition and 'no party' for McManus, Triggs and Gleeson). Results again indicated that gender had a significant effect on all money related Key Concepts except 'Affluence', a stronger effect for Labor than the Coalition. The same logistic regression also demonstrated significant differences by referents' political allegiance in the Key Concepts of '(Un)employment', 'Future' and 'Investigation' (e.g., *enquiry, question, search*), with commenters again more likely to

discuss these Key Concepts in relation to Labor women, while for there was also a weaker, albeit significant tendency for 'Investigation' to be discussed for Coalition women.

Logistic regression to determine the effect of gender alone for comments to *The Guardian*, (Table 4.7 below) revealed an array of Key Concepts substantially different from *The Australian*. Regarding *The Australian*, gender alone accounted for the differences in the Key Concepts of 'People, 'Kin', 'Unintelligent', 'If' and 'Unemployed'. 'Money and Pay' and 'Money Generally' were also largely accounted for by gender, with a modest influence from being in one of the two major political parties. The effect of both gender and being in one of the two major parties accounted for significance of 'Geography', 'Education', Social Actions' and 'Government'. Being a Coalition female modestly influenced the Key Concept 'Geography'. At this level of analysis, sample size was unavoidably small, hence influences of single referents were evident, but easily recognisable in line-by-line analysis. Mentions of geographic terms were evidently influenced by the Foreign Minister being a Coalition female, entailing use of many place names. Many other geographical concepts were used metaphorically (*make waves, political landscape*) or as, forms of intensification: *What on earth?* There were also numerous references to Gillard's Global Education Project. 'Social actions' largely consisted of synonyms for behaviour of and treatment experienced by the female referents, while 'people,' and the one political term 'Government'. At somewhat lower confidence intervals *FG* and *MG* were significantly differentiated by the Key Concepts 'unintelligent', and 'if'. Hence relative to *The Australian* corpora, there was less emphasis on money overall, and more on human factors and qualities, although an examination of significant Key concepts also supported a less frequent topos of female use of money and negative career consequences in *The Guardian*). The influence of political party on Key Concepts was lower overall than in *The Australian*, being significant in 'Social Actions' and 'Government' only, the former being consistent with literature on representation of female politicians, while the latter suggests that commenters are more able to engage with the notion of females as politicians. Within each party in *The Guardian* corpora, gender was found to have a significant effect for all of the identified Key Concepts, and almost exclusively within the major two parties.

Table 4.7

Results of Logistic Regression Analysis measuring the Strength of Association of Gender (femaleness) versus Key Concepts which were Significantly Different between the FG and MG Corpora

Key Concept	Comparison	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Money and pay	Female vs Male	1.62 (1.42, 1.85)	<0.001
Money Generally	Female vs Male	1.59 (1.41, 1.79)	<0.001
Place	Female vs Male	1.58 (1.42, 1.77)	<0.001
Geography	Female vs Male	1.48 (1.35, 1.64)	<0.001
Social Actions	Female vs Male	1.47 (1.28, 1.68)	<0.001
People	Female vs Male	1.45 (1.3, 1.6)	<0.001
Government	Female vs Male	1.36 (1.24, 1.48)	<0.001
Clothing	Female vs Male	0.68 (0.58, 0.8)	<0.001
Unintelligent	Female vs Male	1.34 (1.08, 1.66)	0.007
If	Female vs Male	1.15 (1.01, 1.3)	0.03
Employment	Female vs Male	0.75 (0.57, 0.99)	0.04

4.7   Parts of Speech Differences between the Four Corpora

Wmatrix CLAWS has a 95% accuracy in prediction of the part of speech of any word from its syntactical context (Rayson, 2002). This feature cannot be ignored when comparing corpora as it may predict various functions of language such as appraisal, through adjectives and adverbs.

The high frequency of words in the Key Concept of money is typically associated with the prominent money theme in *FA*, while the difference between significantly frequent 3ps pronouns and singular proper nouns in *FA* and *MA* respectively may indicate a greater tendency to name characters or referents in *MA*, or a wider range of characters, while in *FA*, discussion may centre around the selected female referents, rather than including other characters. The frequency of first-person subject pronoun *I* and first person copular *am* in *FA* suggests higher levels of engagement, although such engagement is primarily with other commenters. This may call into question the role of opinion markers as a suggestion of objectivity. At the same time there is more comparison and greater use of subordinating conjunctions in *MA*, suggesting possible higher use of evidence/justification in *MA*, while commentary on females may centre more on personal opinion.

FG like, *FA*, differed most from the associated male corpus in nouns as units of measurement, again dominated by amounts of money. Adjectives were also significantly more frequent than in *MG* as was the pronoun I and plural common nouns. In terms of tense, *FG* was significantly higher in simple past and perfect for both lexical and auxiliary verbs. Other significantly higher POS were titles, superlative adjectives and plural after determiners (*several, many*). *MG* had significantly higher frequencies in a variety of third person verbs in present tense, singular proper nouns and modal verbs.

Comparing the two publications by gender the most consistent differences were the preponderance of adjectives, nouns of measurement and first-person pronouns in the two female corpora, contrasting with proper nouns and verbs in third person present in male corpora. The few significant differences in frequency of parts of speech between the four corpora nevertheless reveal some interesting tendencies. Higher frequencies of money quantifiers reflect the general interest in the theme of money and female politicians. The higher frequency of *this* in the female corpora is associated with the expression *this woman,* which is perhaps unexpected, since a distancer such as *that* might be more expected in the context of high negativity. However, *this* may reflect representation of female referents as of high topicality or noticeability, consistent with findings that women in public or leadership roles receive disproportionally greater attention and scrutiny, generally resulting in more negative assessment (Kanter, 2008; Eagly & Karau, 2002). It is also possible that the use of *this* reflects a narrative trope in Australian English, where the topic or person under discussion is frequently referred to as *this (this bloke, this pub)*. One possible interpretation of the use of *this* with *woman* is that women are more frequently the exclusive topic of discussion where they are mentioned, while men are part of a broader narrative of action.

That both female corpora are higher in first person pronouns may indicate a stronger tendency for engagement between commenters when discussing female referents, which may also be associated with higher attention or topicality of women in leadership. This is further supported by the higher proportion of appraisal in adjectives describing females as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.7.1   Verbs and Referent agency

Examining verbs in discourse from a sociolinguist perspective can reveal the degree of agency or responsibility accorded to the actors associated with them and consequently their perceived power, as suggested by Van Leeuwen (2008) and Dreyfus (2017). For example, grammatical forms such as the agentless passive can omit the initiator of action entirely: *she was sacked.* Such omissions often reflect that the agent of the action is not of interest but can equally obscure the agent's identity or the amount of support for or objection to a particular action. This analysis is drawn from Van Leeuwen (2008) and is ultimately derived from Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Mathiesson, 2014), which identifies the roles within themes and predicates associated with the verb, while Van Leeuwen focuses on agency from a social perspective. Relevant parts of Van Leeuwen's (2008) analysis are shown in Figure 4.3. He posits a cline of agency in the actors' relation to the verb, which corresponds to their real-world impact. Powerful actors are associated with actions which create change in the real world: 'material transactive', acting upon other humans ('interactive') being a sign of greater agency than acting on objects (instrumental) or acting without an associated material change (nontransactive: e.g*. he sang).* Verbs of meaning, linguistic or otherwise, or semiotic verbs), represent a lower level of agency and may be transactive (*she told him*) or non-transactive (*he said yes*) the former indicating social influence and hence greater power. A third group of verbs labelled 'reactions' by Van Leeuwen (2008) include denotations of 'mental', 'affective' or 'perceptual' actions (*she thought, he worried, they saw* respectively) and represent social actions of less power, although according to Van Leeuwen, more powerful actors are more frequently represented through their mental, or cognitive, actions while less powerful actors are more often represented through their affect and perception.

Reaction
 — Unspecified
 Cognitive
 Affective
 Perceptive

Action
 Material
  Transactive
   — Interactive
   Instrumental
  Non-transactive
 Semiotic
  Behavioural
  Non-behavioural
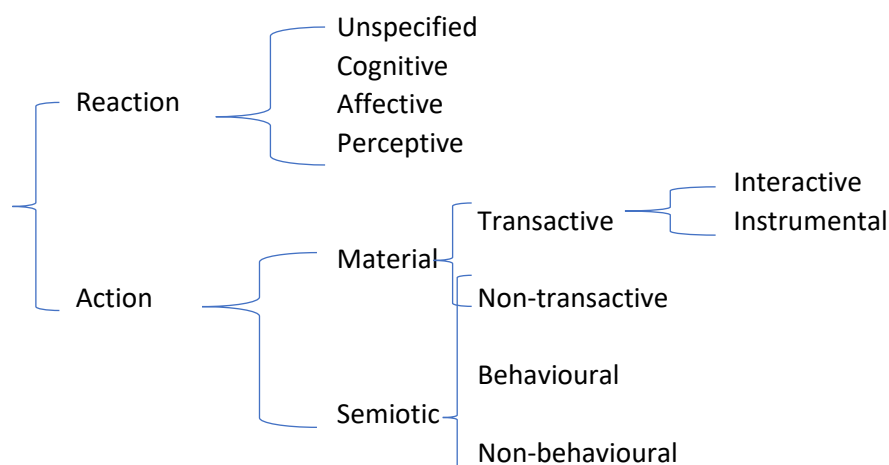
Figure 4.3

Action types examined in this study from Van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological classification.

Lexical verbs in simple past and participial form were chosen as the richest source of narrative retelling, and hence more likely to describe events and actions of referents. Concordances were taken from the four corpora for past lexical verbs, and reduced to only those including the referents, which were then classified into the key indicators of strength of agency as shown in Figure 4.3 (above). These included 'transactive' actions divided into those performed on people (interactive) and objects/non-humans (instrumental), non-transactive actions (*she walked*) semiotic actions, both transactive, or addressed to humans (*she told him*), and non-transactive (*she said*) and reactions, both mental and affective. Van Leeuwen's examination of actions does not consider the 'patients' of material transactive verbs, nor the syntactic subjects of passive verbs, since these are not performing actions, but being acted upon. However, such thematic roles have clear implications for the relative power of referents depending on whether they are represented more frequently as actors or patients. In this study, syntactical objects or passive subjects of the verb are also recorded.

Results are noted in table 4.8 below along with their frequency and percentage of total action verbs in each corpus.

	MALES IN GUARDIAN		FEMALES IN GUARDIAN		MALES IN AUST.		FEMALES IN AUST.	
	n	%verbs	n	%verbs	n	%verbs	n	%verbs
Action								
non-trans	351	2.26	401	2.6	136	1.88	40	0.55
interactive	172	1.11	390	2.5	60	0.83	34	0.47
Instrum.	522	3.36	132	0.9	228	3.16	95	1.31
Reaction								
affective	68	1.91	37	0.2	33	0.458	11	0.15
mental	109	0.44	85	0.5	44	0.610	21	0.29
perceptive	9	0.70	15	0.1	0	0	0	0
Semiotic								
transact	48	0.066	25	0.2	37	0.513	7	0.1
non-trans	309	0.31	205	1.3	158	2.19	117	1.62
TOTAL	**2104**		**1897**		**906**		**528**	

Order of frequency of semantic roles was mostly consistent between samples but with large differences in total frequency. Actions of referents in *The Guardian* were mentioned at least twice as often as in *The Australian* and referents were more frequent in most semantic roles applying to actions, the most common type being non-transactive and instrumental. This may reflect greater attention in *The Guardian* comments to actions and events as distinct from other forms of representation, such as appraisal.

For both publications, males were represented in action roles more frequently than females and at a statistically significant level (Guardian: LL=429.8, LR=.93; *The Australian:* LL=103.9, LR=0.79), indicating greater overall social impact of males relative to females.

Male referents in both newspapers were more frequently presented than females in instrumental and semiotic actions, both transactive and non-transactive. Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of action types relative to total mentions of male and female referents in each publication. A cline of social power is represented based on Van Leeuwen's analysis, darker shades to the left showing actions more commonly associated with powerful referents, and lighter shades, less powerful. Overall males in each publication are found in more powerful roles relative to action, and females in less powerful, especially in patient roles, whether as object or passive subject.
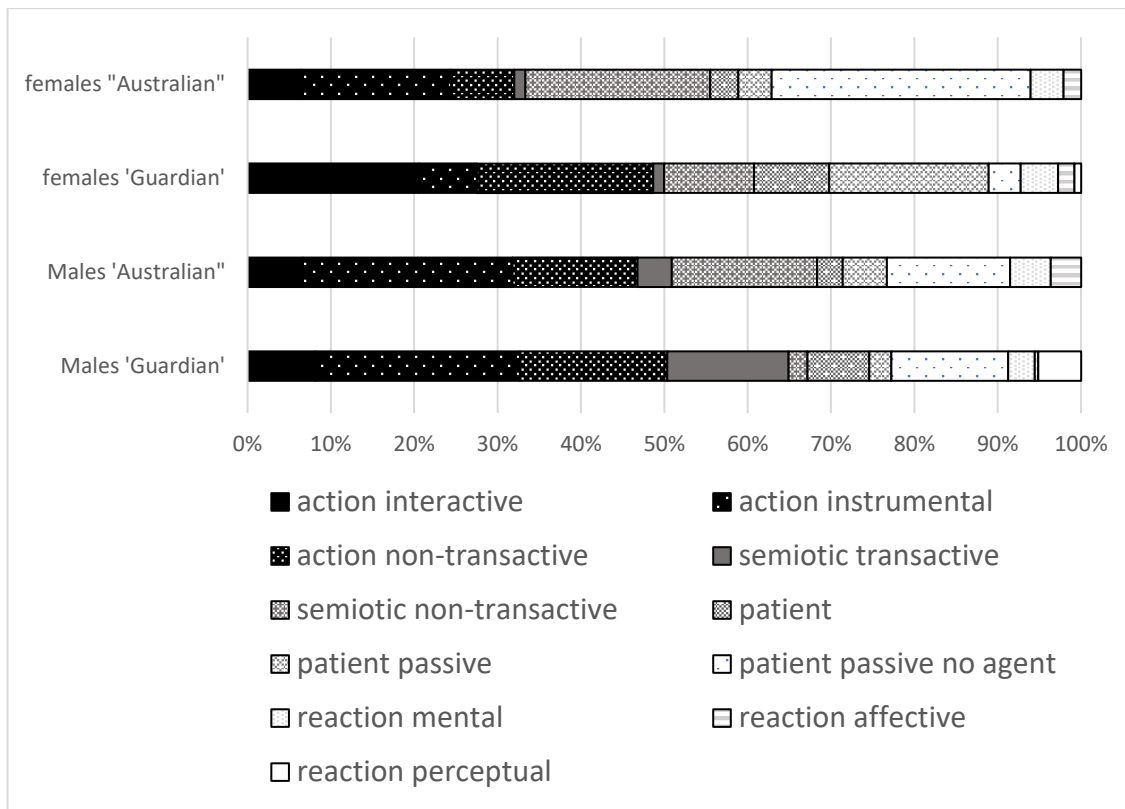
Figure 4.4 *Action types associated with males and females from the two newspapers, as a proportion of total past actions.*

The relatively high frequency of semiotic actions associated with all referents may reflect the nature of leadership in governance, where decisions are determined by debate, and leaders' statements are subject to close scrutiny and interpretation.

An exception to the greater power associated with males, was females in *The Guardian* for whom frequency as agents of interactive actions was greater, reflecting the high social power. Examination of the verbs associated with this role reveals a range of actions, most notably violent/aggressive (e.g*., annihilated, attacked, bitten, castrated, demolished, ripped, savaged, shredded, stabbed*) but also nurturing (*mothered, supported, helped, defended*) and approving (*outperformed, attracted).* There appears to be greater polarisation in actions attributed to females in *The Guardian*, with similar proportions of actions with negative denotations to the other three samples, but far higher numbers of positive endorsements. Hence, commenters to *The Guardian* may view females as more legitimate within their political role through their higher inclusion in transactive actions.

In sharp contrast, in *The Australian,* agentless passive patient roles were the most frequent for females, representing the lowest level of agency. Raw numbers were similar for males and

females, but twice as frequent for females as a proportion of overall roles. A comparison of the key concepts associated with these passive verbs for both genders in *The Australian* showed similarities in 'crime', 'money', 'employment/unemployment', 'ethics' and 'politics'. However, the highest frequency theme for females was 'violence/aggression' (21% of all agentless passives) and included the lexicon *attacked, bombarded, booted, broken, castigated, chained, damaged, dragged, drummed, foisted, gagged, hunted, thrown, kicked, pilloried, savaged, tied up*, while such actions were far less frequently depicted as acting on males (5.1%). An analysis of UCREL categories within the patient verbs found themes to be notably more varied for males, with 12% referring to semiotic verbs (was asked/told) and a variety of everyday actions.

In summary, there is a broad correspondence in the above findings with Van Leeuwen's conceptualisation of representation of power through actions and a traditional gender-based conceptualisation of power. Details vary considerably, notably the frequent association of actions with females in *The Guardian*, contradicted by a similarly elevated number of patient roles relative to males, while in *The Australian*, the representation of gender action is typical of traditional stereotypes. It is possible the relative importance of semiotic actions and reactions differs in the field of politics from Van Leeuwen's analysis, since semiotic actions are relatively frequent and reactions, relatively uniform across the genders in both publications. The most notable tendency is the greater number of verbs with which males are associated, indicating likely omission of females from action.

4.8   Affect

4.8.1   Linguistic structures expressing affect

As outlined in Chapter 2, (p. 55) affect, like judgement may be inscribed in wide variety of linguistic structures, the least ambiguous among which are terms of emotion such as:

1. *Public anger is rising*

2. *I'm delighted*

Referent actions which signal an emotion as in (3) and (4) may be more objectively verifiable than the labelling of an emotion, but still depend on the speaker/writer's selection and interpretation of an event.

3. *He was grinning from ear to ear*

4. *After his outburst in parliament*

Emotions can be represented in all grammatical parts of speech and also through associated reactions, as in the adverb in the following:

5. *Thankfully, it will be over soon*

Affect can also be invoked and is strongly subject to metaphor and connotation:

6. *She's a little low right now.*

7. *He has a light-hearted approach.*

Emotions may be attributed by the writer/speaker to aspects of the referent, revealing commenter stance rather than a verifiable truth (8).

8. *the whole of her **miserable** life*

Above all, appraisal of emotion is highly context dependent as in the contrast to between (9) and (10). The commenter reaction below could be sympathetic or antipathetic depending on the nature of the situation *she* was in and the commenter's feelings about her departure.

9. ***Sadly**, she will be leaving soon,*

10. ***Happily**, she will be leaving soon.*

Finally, expression of affect is subject to socio-cultural practices such as irony and sarcasm (Taylor, 2017) and there may be complex relationships between the commenter and the referent through expression of schadenfreude and its inverse (11,12 respectively).

11. *I will watch gleefully as she faces the judge and jury*

12. *Sadly for us, she was voted in.*

Identification of such structures would require manual coding of the entire corpora, but no evidence suggests that frequencies of such constructions will vary between corpora. Hence this analysis of emotions represents a proportional sample.

4.8.2 Assessing overall emotionality of the genre

To determine the overall emotionality of the corpora, all four corpora were compared to a neutral corpus. Expressions of emotions were extracted by collating all concordances of words marked as emotional by USAS (UCREL Semantic Analysis System) (Rayson, 2002). The resulting concordance lists were then compared with emotion concordances from the NOW corpus. Results supported the conclusion that the experimental data was especially high in emotional expression, negative emotions being highest of all, and higher for both female corpora than male. Table 4.9 displays those emotions for the four corpora which had a significantly higher log likelihood than NOW. Log ratio presents a log of the number of times greater the experimental corpora were than the neutral. The numbers in bold represent emotions with a clear relationship to gender across the publications: 'fear/ shock', 'dislike', 'violent/angry' and 'sad', which had similarly high log likelihoods for females and were correspondingly lower and similar in the two male corpora. Overall, expression of emotion was lower for both male corpora on all measures except 'confident', which was relatively higher in *MA* and 'happy' which was higher in *MG*.

Table 4.9

Comparisons of the NOW corpora with the experimental corpus divided by gender and publication. Differences are measured using log likelihood and log ratio and are all significant at the p>0.001. Emotional Key Concepts in bold were notably higher in both female corpora than both male corpora

	Female Referents in *The Australian*		Male Referents in *The Australian*		Female Referents in *The Guardian*		Male Referents in *The Guardian*	
	LL	LR	LL	LR	LL	LR	LL	LR
Fear/shock	**148.52**	2.32	7.99	0.71	**23.3**	1	11.27	0.78
Dislike	**127.97**	**3.98**	75.53	3.4	**156.04**	**3.96**	79.28	3.34
Violent/Angry	**42.63**	**0.75**	18.61	0.52	**75.79**	**0.85**	11.12	0.38
Like	35.57	2.32	22.27	0.71	34.95	0.76	33.73	2.18
Worry	32.74	1.1	29.91	1.06	13.77	0.66	24.84	0.92
Sad	**20.86**	0.9	12.89	0.73	**28.64**	0.91	16.37	0.76
Happy	9.59	0.56	8.33	0.53	9.28	0.48	25.47	0.81
Bravery			7.11	1.35	19.57	1.8	8.77	1.39
Confident			31.87	1.33				

4.8.3   Emotional polarity of the corpora

The next aim in examining representation of emotions was to determine if there were predominant emotions within each corpus or alternatively, for each gender. WMatrix extracts emotion terms in six categories in both negative and positive valence, represented on a continuum between two extremes such as happy/sad. The range of emotions identified by WMatrix is limited to six pairs, and it remains unclear as to whether such pairs represent true antonyms.   However, a foundational study by Russell (1980) established similar polarities based on classification by a range of subjects, concluding that this classification represented 'the layman's cognitive structure for affect' (p.1176). His conclusion indicates that the binary classification of emotions in WMatrix is relevant, especially since the emotions present in the corpora were identified by commenters. Furthermore, identifying emotions in antonymic pairs is informative, as emotions are frequently paired with negatives as in litotes (*not, never*) and diminishers such as *hardly*, meaning that at the corpus level, polarity a less reliable indicator than the actual pair identified.   Because of negation and minimisation, this classification can be seen to present a more accurate assessment of emotion than if all were examined as separate categories.

Figure 4.5 compares the emotional categories identified by WMatrix; happy/sad, like/dislike, worry/confident, bravery/fear, content/discontent, calm/violent (Rayson, 2002) for the four corpora. The most commonly expressed emotion was violence/anger with uniformly high scores across three corpora, *FG* being notably higher, while contentment/discontentment were the least frequent emotions. Results indicate that no emotion was dominated by either gender, although more negative emotions were associated with female corpora, and more positive with male, indicating an overall higher negative polarity for females and the inverse for males. Exceptions were dislike and worry, which, while low in number overall were dominated by the female corpora, while for *FG*, there was a correspondingly high number categorised as 'like'. Also, bravery and confidence were relatively higher in the Male Australian corpus. Frequencies in the chart below were calculated relative to number of sentences in each corpus. Recalculation by number of tokens reduced the extremity of *FG* results, and increased all measures for *FA*, further exaggerating the preponderance of 'worry' and 'fear'.
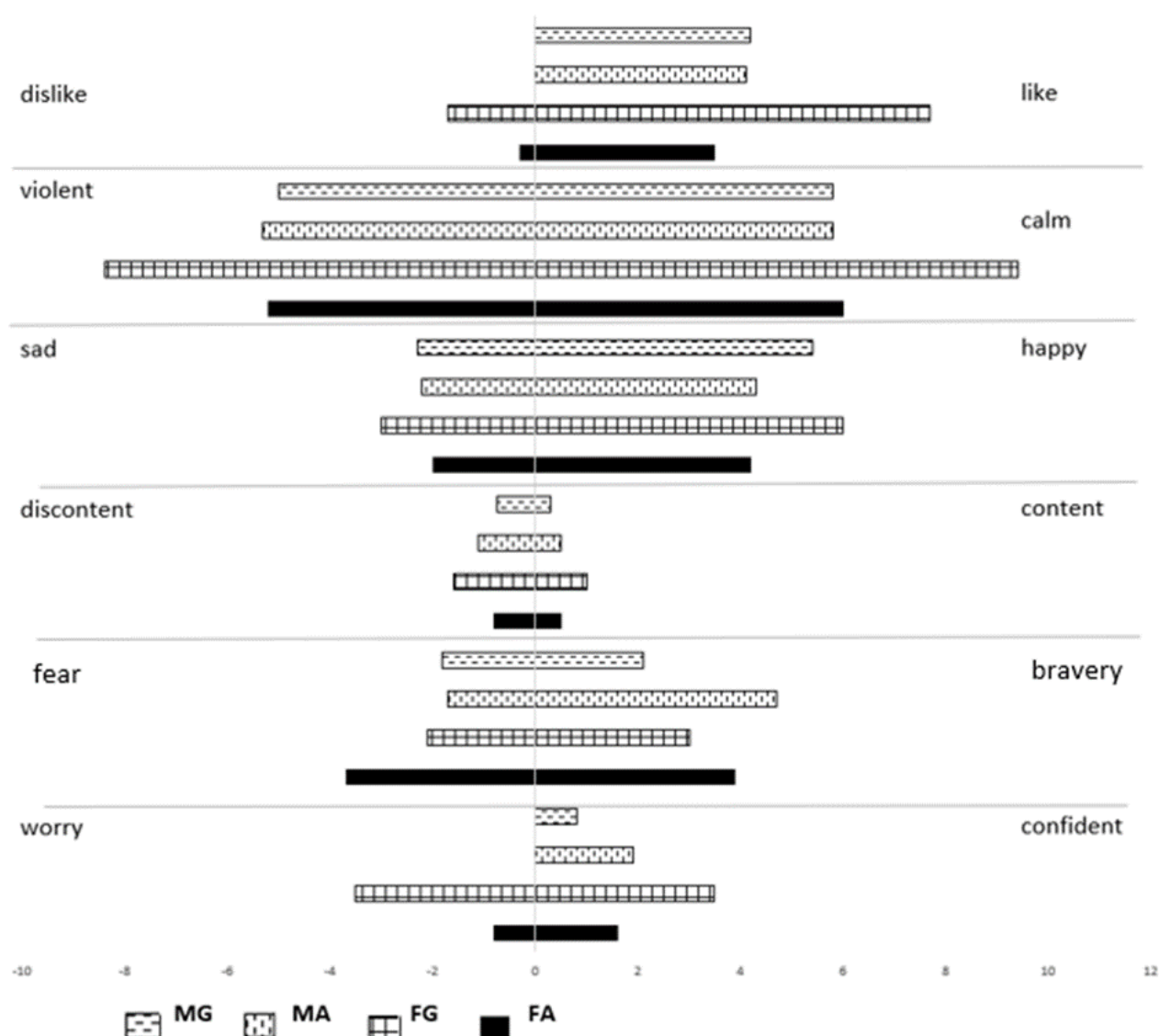
Figure 4.5
Emotions on a continuum of negative and positive by proportion of all emotions, calculated as a percentage of number of sentences for each of the four corpora

4.8.4   Semantic roles and emotions

Semantic role analysis is essential in the evaluation of represented emotions since any roles within a text can be the source or the stimulus for an emotion. In order to determine the relative proportions of semantic roles, the male and female corpora within each publication were combined. This was undertaken to maximise the accuracy of representation by gender, because all original corpora contained some semantic roles occupied by the referents from the other gender. Referents' names and pronouns were replaced with *man* or *woman* as

outlined in Chapter 3. This procedure also enables emotion terms to be summated by gender and hence yield meaningful frequency counts.

Affectual concordances were then coded by semantic roles based largely on those proposed by Dowty (1991) as they appeared to cover most of the human semantic roles arising in the corpora. One extra semantic role, that of 'attribute' was created as there were many concordances that appeared to express stative characteristics, which did not easily fit into Dowty's (1991) model. Examples of attribute include *unrepentant, lack[s] compassion, contemptible.* Semantic roles used to classify referents are summarised in Table 4.10. Four of the roles form complementary pairs, so that typically a sentence with 'agent' also has a 'patient', where the verb is transitive, and a 'stimulus' is accompanied by an 'experiencer' where a complementary role is present. 'Attribute', by contrast, is not accompanied by a relevant pair. These groupings of semantic roles are marked out by shading in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10
Semantic roles used to classify emotions of the referents within concordances

Agent	where referent performs an action which displays emotionality e.g., *attacks, laughs*. may be either transitive or intransitive
patient	referent is the undergoer of the actions of another e.g., *he attacked her*
Stimulus	referent stimulates an emotional reaction in others. E.g., *her* in *they like her*
experiencer	referent experiences an emotion, according to the commenter *S/he loves money*
Attribute	where an emotionally loaded word or expression is stative e.g., *bad-tempered, cheerful, a clown* (largely adjectives or nouns)

4.8.5　　　　Semantic role findings

At the broadest level, some consistency was noted by gender in the semantic roles occupied by referents as shown Figure 4.6.　Percentage of female referents in agent roles was considerably lower in *The Australian* than for the remaining corpora, although this difference was not statistically significant (LL range against the other corpora = 3.28-5.03; LR = -0.60 - 0.74).　Females in both publications were more frequently found in the role of emotion stimulus than males indicating greater emotional reaction to females, whether by the commenters themselves or ascribed by the commenters to another individual or group. The percentage of emotion experiencer roles in *The Australian* was notably higher than in *The Guardian* for both genders, reflecting greater ascription of emotion to referents. In contrast, percentages for the emotion 'attribute' showed an effect by publication but not by gender, being higher in for *The Guardian* indicating a lower tendency to react with emotion, but a greater tendency to judge or evaluate referents' personal qualities. Patient roles were notably higher for males in *The Australian.*
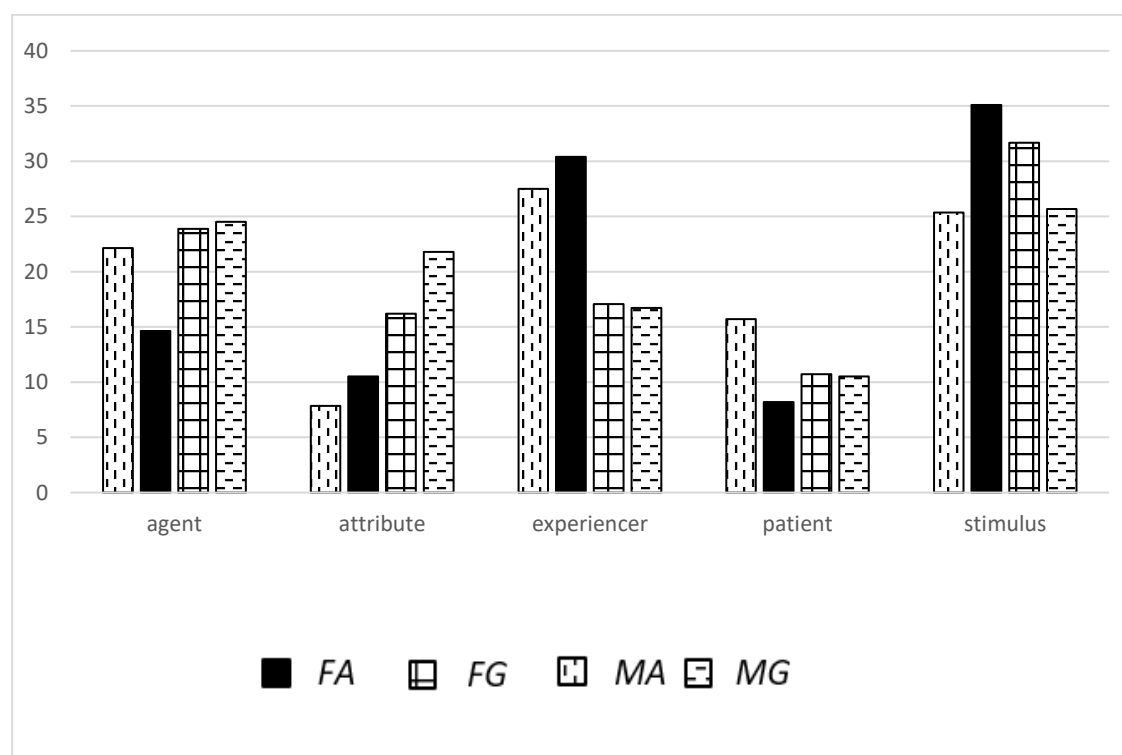
Figure 4.6
Percentages of referents from each gender and publication by semantic role within emotional expression

In summary, therefore, in *The Australian*, females were less likely to be cast in the role of agent of an emotion event, although this role also included intransitive verbs such as *shriek, cry*, meaning that this percentage may be an overestimation. Also, in the case of transitive verbs, a greater tendency was found toward more abstract verbs of action, especially in the Key Concept of violence/aggression, where dominant verbs included *attacked, shafted,* while for males in *The Australian* such verbs were more concrete *(stabbed, bashed).*

For referents of both genders in *The Australian*, commenters appeared to show more interest in the referents' emotional reactions. In contrast, commenters to *The Guardian* appeared to show greater interest in evaluating the referents' personal qualities (attributes) than their experiences.

While intensified language was similar in proportion for all the samples, it was higher in both male corpora for concrete actions of violence (*stabbed, kicked*) at about 60% of all patient roles and mostly consisted of the media or other male referents.

Emotion attributes for all referents were overwhelmingly negative, led by females in *The Australian* at 89% followed by males in *The Guardian*. (See Table 4.11). This reinforces the different contributions of each publications to gender assessment, *The Australian* being more traditionalist and conservative in disfavouring females, while *The Guardian* as a more liberal newspaper disfavoured female less frequently. Frequency of stimulus roles was notably higher for females in both publications, indicating stronger commenter reaction to females as these largely consisted of verbs of emotion *(like/hate/love)*.

Table 4.11
Percentages of negative, positive and neutral polarity in emotional attributes for both genders in both publications

	FA	MA	FG	MG
Negative	89.47	59.09	60.75	77.77
Positive	0	36.36	30.84	11.11
neutral	10.53	4.54	8.41	11.11

4.8.5.1   Referent as stimulus – who is the experiencer?

The next level of analysis was coding the other human roles in complementary relationships with the referent, above all when the referent was an emotion agent, patient, stimulus or experiencer. This was undertaken to reveal degrees of dominance/submission as in certain agent/patient dyads, to identify those represented as expressing a feeling about the referent, as well as who the referent was seen to feel negatively or positively about. The complementary relationships found were coded as 'commenter', 'group' (a section of the public such as Indigenous people), 'we', indicating a commenter speaking on behalf of an undefined group, 'government', including political party, and 'institutions', such as corporations or religions, and finally 'general' which was used for maximised descriptions of the role, such as *everybody, nobody, anybody, all Australians*.

Figure 4.7 displays the different groups and individuals ascribed to the role of experiencer where the referent was a stimulus, illustrating not only the commenters' reaction to the referent, but also commenter perception of how other community groups and members react to the referent. The most outstanding difference by gender was that larger numbers of commenters reacted directly with emotion to female referents than males: *FA*=45%, n=60; *FG*=32% n=206). Commenter as experiencer was also relatively frequent for males in *The Australian*. This prompted a line-by-line examination of the verbs used by commenters to describe their experience. The finding was that for females in both publications, commenter reactions were dominated by stative verbs (*I loathe her, she irritates me*) while for males in

The Australian, adjectives of temporary reaction were more common (*I am disappointed/shocked that*). For females in *The Australian*, there were six comments expressing positive emotions, however these in fact consisted of schadenfreude as shown in example (*1*) below:

(1) I would **love** nothing better than to see Joolya in jail.

For males in *The Guardian*, an outstanding result was the greater frequency of groups as experiencers. Groups consisted mainly of stakeholders within parliament and the community, such as female voters or people known to the commenter. Attributing reactions to various political and social groups may reflect a tendency to depersonalise emotional reactions. This is reinforced by the fact that referents as stimuli were more frequently portrayed as having 'no experiencer' for both genders in *The Guardian*. This category was often realised through adverbs: *sadly*, *thankfully* and nouns, *an embarrassment*; *the jealousy provoked by this man*.

Females in *The Australian* may have been underrepresented in the role of agent because of a perception among commenters that women lack executive power or effectiveness. However, the same group were also underrepresented in the patient role, indicating a greater tendency to omit females from discussion around parliamentary activities.
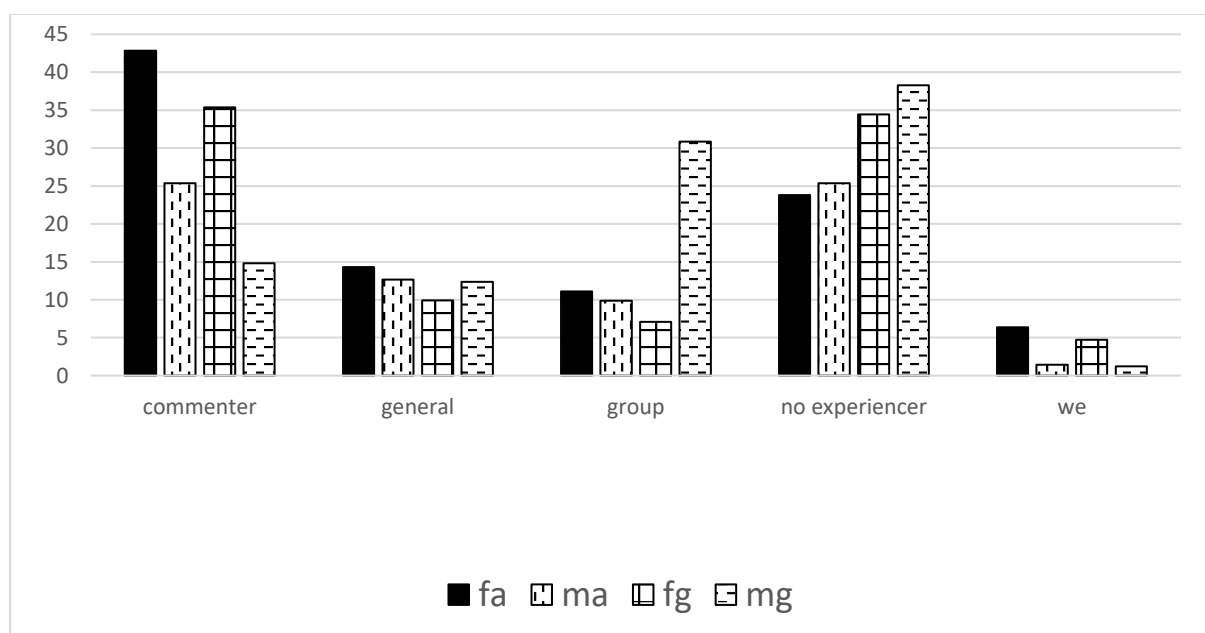
Figure 4.7
Individuals / groups named in experiencer role by percent where referent was the stimulus

Examining the identity of agents acting on the referent as patient can yield useful information about perceived power of the referent, depending on the status or executive role of agent. Examination of the agents' identities revealed four major classifications: 'no agent' – for example in passive constructions; 'group', as in political party, pressure group or societal cohort, such as *farmers; man* and *woman* when a referent is acted upon by a male or female. More minor but interesting categories included 'the media'; 'we', 'the law', institutions such as the reserve bank or the mining sector, and 'you', where a commenter named another commenter as an agent acting on a referent. Results are shown in Figure 4.8.
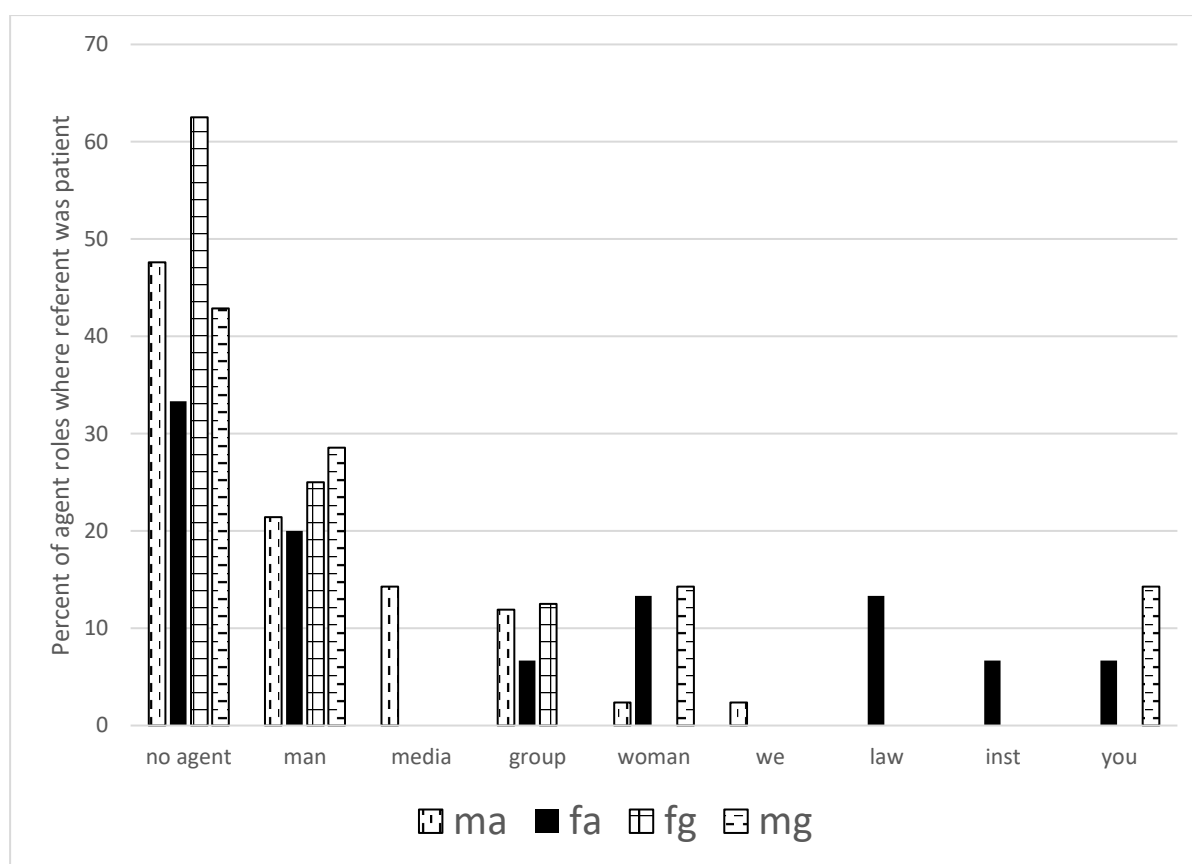
Figure 4.8
Differing agents where the referent was patient as percentage of total patient roles for the four corpora

The majority of patient roles for all corpora had no agent, this being more prominent for both genders in *The Guardian,* but lowest for females in *The Australian.* The next most common agents were various males in the community, frequently colleagues or high-ranking members

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of institutions, followed by groups and women as agents in approximately equal numbers. Male referents in *The Australian* were the only group to be cast as patients to 'the media', which may reflect a tendency to deflect emotions to an outside group with goals which differ from the community and government.

Female referents in patient roles in *The Australian* were acted on by the widest variety of agents and the lowest number of 'no agent' among the corpora. Many agents represented authoritative cohorts including 'the law' and 'institutions'. Agents for male referents in *The Guardian* were also more varied, with numbers similar to females in *The Australian* for agents 'women' and 'you'.

While these tendencies are broad, it appears that most commenters preferred to omit the agent, with the exception of commenters on female referents in *The Australian*. This increased specificity will be discussed in Chapter 5, where it is frequently used to strengthen a position, whether for or against the referent: a tendency that may also explain the wider range of agents for male referents in *The Guardian.* Notably, the inclusion of 'the law' and 'institutions' as agents for female patients in *The Australian* may reflect the emphasis on crime and unethical behaviour, which is a feature of the *FA* corpus explored in Chapter 5.

4.8.6   Summary and discussion of emotions

Overall, the quantitative results support Mitchelstein's (2011) premise that online reader comments have a largely cathartic function and that negative feeling around politicians is extremely high. The corpora were found to be high in the expression of emotions of violence/anger, mostly seen in the agentive role of referents, where the adversarial nature of the system was frequently intensified into metaphors of physical assault. Some traditionally male characteristics were seen in affective terms related to bravery and confidence, which did not reach significance level for females. Log likelihood scores indicated an effect of gender for both female corpora in the stimulus role of 'dislike' and 'violence/anger', although the latter was high in all corpora. Some gender effect is indicated by the fact that more abstract vocabulary was used to describe female aggression (*attacked*, *shafted*) while for males this was more concrete and action based (*stabbed*, *bashed*). This abstraction of action for females may correspond to a general tendency toward unreality and generalisation in representation of females, as described in later sections and chapters. Alternatively, it may reflect a tendency

to represent behaviours as recurrent and stative, following Rubini et al's (2014) cline of abstraction-concreteness. It may also explain why female referents were more often named as stimuli for verbs of preference such as *like/loathe* and these were more frequently expressed as stative, while for males in both publications, more temporary expressions of emotion were prevalent *(I am annoyed that),* This more stative expression of emotion toward women may also relate to the higher association of such stative verbs with commenters themselves rather than ascription of feeling to others *(I love/ hate her).* Based on the cline of subjectivity proposed by Bednarek, (2006), such an expression of emotion is highly subjective.

Results of semantic role analysis, with moderately lower frequency of agency for females, and higher frequency as both stimuli and experiencers of emotions especially of negative ones such as *hate*, is consistent with the representation of powerless characters (Van Leeuwen, 2008) as is the reduced detail in representation of their actions and character.

 Further in negative comments about female referents in *The Australian*, commenters frequently placed a stakeholder group in the experiential role (*everybody hates her*) which may represent an attempt to mitigate the harshness of personal negative judgement (*I hate her*), or alternatively may be an attempt to strengthen commenters' evidential base by extending it beyond themselves. Similarly, the frequent expression of emotions as adverbs without subjects (e.g., *embarrassingly*) clearly expresses the commenters view, but these are possibly expressed without a subject to avoid personal pronouns but also to present the commenter's reaction as general rather than personal. In contrast, where referents were patients, agent roles nominated by commenters were greatly varied. Female referents in *The Australian* were subject to the widest range of agent roles. In this case it is possible that specificity is a strategy to strengthen an argument through more concrete detail.

The underrepresentation of females in *The Australian* in the role of emotional agent may indicate a perception among commenters that women lack executive power or effectiveness. However, the same group were also underrepresented in the patient role, indicating a tendency to omit female referents from activities, possibly those of parliament, which are disputative in nature. In support of this is the fact that the most common 'other' roles, for males in *The Australian*, were 'no experiencer' or another male referent.

Comparison of negativity at the comment level, determined by coding rather than quantification in emotional comments revealed greatest negativity toward females in *The Australian* followed by males in *The Guardian*.

Meanwhile, greater polarisation of 'like' and 'strong like' were very frequent for females in *The Guardian*. At this level results must be interpreted with caution as the role of the referents is not determined but does indicate more polarisation in emotion toward females. This finding is reinforced by the higher polarity of emotions for females in the comparison with the NOW corpus. Similarly, elevated scores for females in both publications for 'dislike' and 'violent' and to a lesser extent 'sad' indicate higher commenter displeasure surrounding female referents. The fact that *FG* exhibits more 'dislike' and 'like' as well as 'strong liking' than the other three corpora again support more diversity in commenter viewpoints for females, where many comments are highly supportive of some female referents. It also indicates that likeability is a topic of interest for females in *The Guardian*, but less so in the other corpora. The fact that negativity in comments is elevated for both *FA* and *MG* indicates an effect of political allegiance combined with traditionalism or lack thereof, since many commenters expressed disapproval of the conservative government. Overall, therefore, this analysis may reveal a combined effect of gender and publication, with a narrower range of emotions expressed in relation to females in both publications and higher polarity of emotional response for *The Guardian* to both genders. This may reflect higher diversity of beliefs and values in the readership, which offsets any clearly discernible gender difference in polarity when the numbers for each gender are combined. The more traditional emotions expressed towards males such as bravery and confidence in *MA*, along with the negativity towards females may reflect an adherence to traditional values, which is present in comments to *The Guardian*, despite evidence of less traditional values.

4.9 Measuring intensity in the four corpora

Assessment of Graduation across four corpora can be undertaken at many levels. The most logical appeared to be to quantify the number of tokens in each corpora containing inscribed intensification and dividing these into total tokens for each corpus. However, the limitation of calculating average intensity across a corpus is that results can be skewed by pockets of high intensity. What was sought was a quantification of average intensity, and also an indicator of

where comments of very high or low graduation were located in the corpus for purposes of qualitative analysis. Hence average intensity per sentence was calculated by selecting POS and Key Concepts identified by WMatrix UCREL semantic tagger as being of inscribed high intensity such as 'degree boosters': *very, extremely, more;* maximisers *(totally, most)* Key Concepts marked with + and -, and emotions. The length of each sentence was then calculated with the corpus in vertical format, as provided by WMatrix. Using vertical format, the corpus is divided into one word or punctuation mark per line in a single column. It is then simply a matter of calculating the distance between full stops. The number of 'intense' words per sentence is then calculated. The result was a measure of density of intensification, showing the average distance between intense vocabulary items in any one sentence. It must be noted that invoked intensity is not included in the following analysis, but inscribed intensity may provide a guide to overall intensity.

Figure 4.9 below shows the distance between intensifiers in numbers of words in each sentence for the four experimental corpora and the NOW corpus. Lower numbers show smaller distances between intensifiers therefore indicating higher intensity. Both female corpora have greater numbers at the highest intensity than the male corpora for the same publication: 1 – 1.5 words between intensifiers, while intensifiers are denser per sentence for *The Guardian* overall. *FG* has greater density of intensifiers per sentence at the most extreme end: below 1.5 words between intensifiers, then density is higher in the moderate range for *MG*. A similar pattern is seen for *The Australian,* where *FA* has more sentences with high density of intensifiers than *MA* until 3 words between intensifier then frequencies are lower until 10 words between intensifiers. This indicates an overall lower density of intensifiers in male than female corpora as there are more sentences in the moderate to low range. Examining each curve, *MA* most closely reflects the frequencies in the neutral corpus, NOW, raising the possibility that lower density of intensifiers is more typical in many texts, as Key Concept analysis has already revealed that the experimental corpora are high in boosters and intensified terms relative to the less specialised corpus. Results indicate that while all the experimental corpora have lower density of intensifiers beyond a gap of 4 words per sentence, they all have higher density at the extreme end, both female corpora being more extreme than male corpora from the same publication.
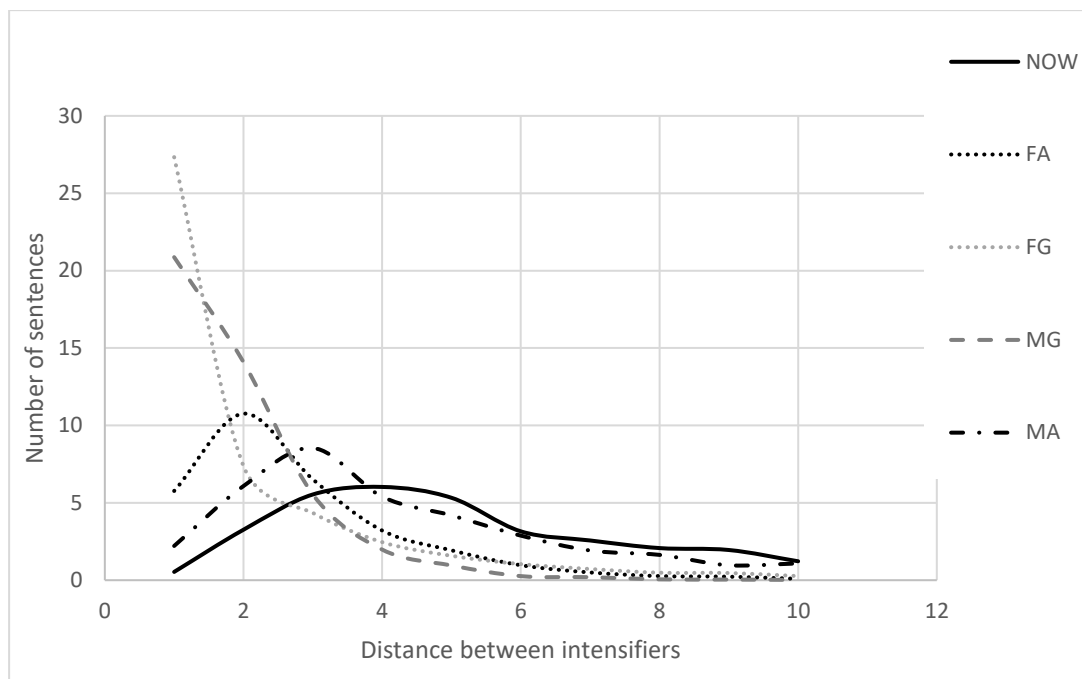
Figure 4.9
Distance between intensifiers per sentence and number of sentences for both corpora from The Australian and The Guardian, with the NOW corpus serving as a neutral comparison

4.10   Use of Names, first and surname, titles and direct address

According to McConnell Ginet (2004) the major functions driving naming practices are either solidarity or power distance. Practices of address must also be assessed within a community of practice, meaning the defining features of the cohort within which the address is used. For example, addressing a woman as *girl* can signify solidarity and closeness within the female African American community, but when used by men to address women, it is likely to be condescending or infantilising (p.85). The function of the particular term of address selected is determined by power distance between two participants, so that adults may use familiar terms towards children, but the inverse would be interpreted as inappropriate.

 In this study, the community of practice consists of self-selected participants of undetermined gender, age or class, although their selection of publication to comment in is somewhat informative of their ideological and political views. Meanwhile, the referents addressed are for the most part not personally acquainted with the commenters, possibly rendering epithets of emotional closeness such as *honey, dear or* first name, inappropriate and possibly condescending, while other informal epithets (*mate, guy*) from male to male may express solidarity.

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Terms of address were investigated as an intrinsic indicator of representation. The frequency of each referent's name was recorded, and percentages calculated relative to overall numbers of words, indicating that males were nominated as referent twice as often by percent as females in (*MA*: 1799, 15.5%; *FA*: 876, 7.8%; *MG* 3617, 2.12%, *FG* 3621, 1.32%). The higher frequency of nomination of males as referents may reflect their perceived greater suitability in the role of political leader since commenters appear to pay closer attention to their actions and responsibilities.

Titles were far more frequently employed to refer to female than male politicians (Table 4.11). Interestingly, the use of *Miss* (*FA*: n=1) and *Mrs* (*FA*: n=1) was almost absent from comments in both publications, replaced instead by *Ms*. Use of given names was also more frequent for women, reaching statistical significance for both publications (*The Australian* LL=12.15; *The Guardian* LL=15.71) (Table 4.12). Comparison by gender of reference by surname alone did not reach statistical significance in either publication but was higher in both for males.

Table 4.12
Frequency, percent, log likelihood and log ratio for reference by title and surname as a proportion of total nomination for the four corpora

Corpus	*n*	(%)	LL	LR
FA	80	8.98	67.04*	2.29
MA	33	1.83	67.04*	2.29
FG	191	5.16	148.8*	3.04
MG	23	0.63	148.8*	3.04

Table 4.13
Frequency, percent, log likelihood and log ratio for reference by given name only as a proportion of total nomination for the four corpora

Corpus	given name	%	LL	LR
FA	86	9.65	12.15*	1.75
MA	104	5.77	12.15*	1.75
FG	167	4.51	15.71*	0.71
MG	101	2.76	15.71*	0.71

A vocative use of names was also noted, in which commenters directly addressed the referent in the text. (*Julia, if you are reading this, my money is on The Victorian Police Fraud Squad having a good day!*)

Such 'direct address' was twice as common for females as males at 12.3% and 6.06% (*The Australian*) and 5.7% and 2.7% (*The Guardian*) respectively which was significant at p<.001 for both publications (see Table 4.13).

Table 4.14
*Numbers and percentages of nominations and direct address of political referents. *p<0.001*

Corpus	No. Words	Freq. Nomin. (%)	Direct address (%)	LL	LR
FA	119381	891 (.74)	108(12.33)	25.7*	1
MA	118429	1803 (1.52)	109(6.06)	25.7*	-1
FG	293691	3698 (1.26)	210(5.68)	40.47*	1.08
MG	170382	3658 (2.15)	98(2.68)	40.47*	-1.08

Direct address by title and surname was nearly three times higher by percentage for females than males in *The Australian* and five times more frequent in *The Guardian*, although lower in numbers overall. It was also noted that occupational titles such as *Professor, Senator and Auditor General* were used with roughly equal frequency for males and females in all corpora. Direct address by surname was again significantly more frequent for females, but this difference was removed when direct address by title and surname was subtracted, indicating that commenters showed a strong preference against addressing females by surname alone.

Despite being nominated more frequently overall and by percentage, male referents in both publications were addressed directly half as often, indicating a possible register difference in comments between the genders. Researchers have endorsed two possible functions of use of more personal or informal terms: solidarity and relative status (Allerton, 1996; Dickey, 1997; van den Berg et al., 2019). Van den Berg et al's (2019) study followed tweets about six world presidents and found a significant relationship between solidarity on the one hand and negativity/face threatening on the other when presidents were referred to or addressed by first name as well as an overall positive correlation between formality of reference and positive stance (p.4). Direct address may therefore reflect an attempt to reduce power distance between the commenter and the referent. The content for direct address was overwhelmingly negative, which indicates that the intent was not one of solidarity. A more frequent use of title and surname for females and surname only for males may also reflect the

traditional use of surname among males in formal groupings such as the workplace, which has little precedence among females. In fact, the use of *Ms*. as the most frequently employed title for women in both publications demonstrates compliance with more recent social trends in referring to women without revealing their marital status.

Direct address by first name was considerably more frequent for female referents (see Figure 4.10) with the exception of George Brandis, Attorney General. It is unlikely to be coincidental that Brandis was the only male referent addressed using female pronouns and associated with the wearing of female clothing and having 'a boyfriend', which may have been provoked by his breaking of ranks with his peers to endorse the same sex marriage bill. That first names are applied to males who are represented as feminised suggests that it accompanies lowered status relative to the commenter. It is also possible that the higher tendency to address women by first name reflects the above-outlined lack of tradition in addressing females by surname alone. The higher percentages of the use of title *Ms* with surname also reinforces this interpretation.
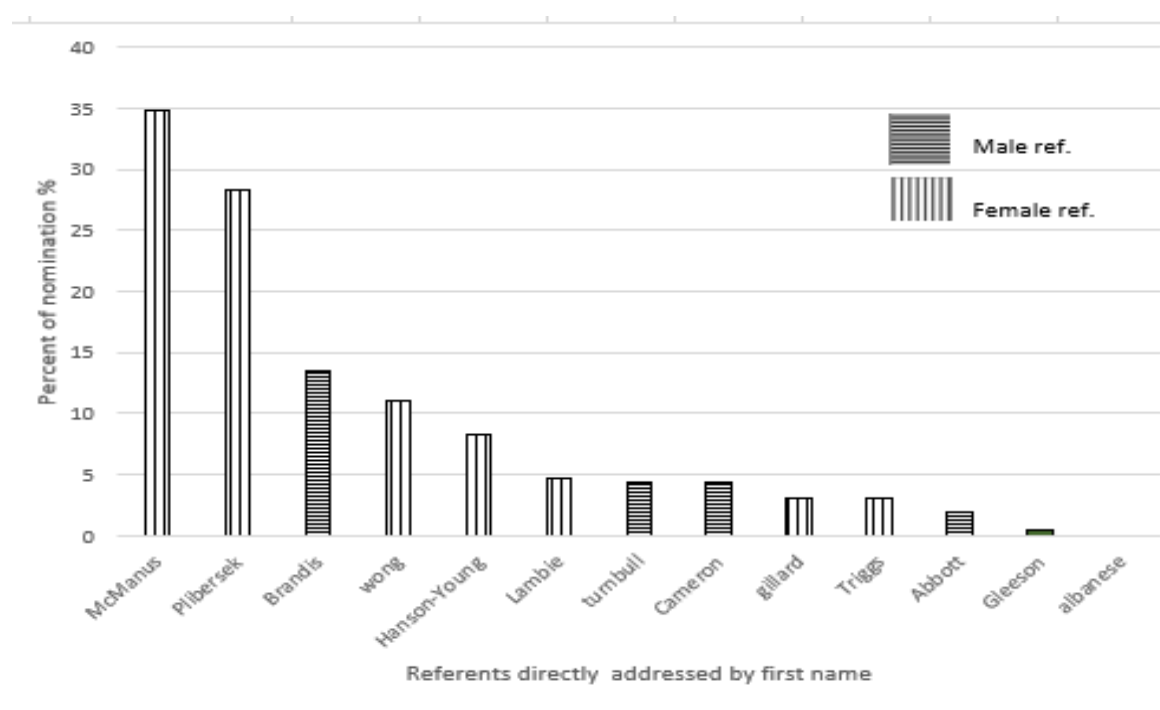
Figure 4.10
Direct address by first name as a percentage of total words sampled

Sarah Hanson Young and Anthony Albanese were both addressed in non-standard forms: Hanson Young with her initials (*SHY*) in the majority of cases, and Albanese with his popular

name *Albo*. It is unclear whether these align more closely to first or surname address. *SHY* and *Albo* are in fact used in headlines by *The Australian* and may therefore either reflect convenience or expression of high familiarity.

Overall, direct address appears to relate mostly to markedness, and/or an attempt to negotiate relative status with the addressee. The fact that direct address overall is notably higher for females but topped by two very prominent males may indicate that it is directed at individuals who stand outside the norm and hence elicit stronger reactions from the public. Direct address could also be interpreted as a reflection of high subjectivity by the commenter, following Bednarek's (2006) Cline of Subjectivity, in which subjectivity is reflected through reduction of the distance between the commenter and the addressee.

4.11   Summary of Quantitative Analyses

Analysis of differences in WMatrix identified Key Concepts between the corpora by log likelihood and Log ratio, reveals a clear difference in concepts of interest for males and females, with comments on males focussing more what may be interpreted as the politicians' professional role, while for females there was a stronger emphasis on concepts ancillary to their execution of political duties including personal/interpersonal and social factors, emotions and female politicians' expenditure, notably on travel with possibly related themes of consequences for monetary misuse. The association of this topos with femaleness was further supported by Logistic Regression Analysis, showing a statistically significant association between Key Concepts of 'money', 'crime', 'investigation' and unemployment *The Australian* corpora and related Key Concepts, including 'place' and 'geography'. themes plus social actions and clothing for *The Guardian*, although that publication also associated femaleness with some concepts which are difficult to explain, such as 'place' and 'geography' and also contained one government related Key Concept.

The overall paucity of traditional, gender-based commentary, with the noted exception of *clothing* in *FG* and the somewhat tangential 'Drinking and alcohol' indicate a possible awareness among commenters that remarks about traditional gender-based differences are socially unacceptable. It is also possible but unlikely that these results reflect moderators'

redactions, since redactions are generally limited to legally enforceable infringements such as threats to safety and identifiable discrimination.

Concepts less explicitly related to gender, were however present in the Key Concepts of 'education' and 'kin' for females, as well as 'social actions and processes'. Similarly, the Key Concepts for males included traditionally male associated topics such as warfare, strength/weakness, 'Competition' and 'Success'. Comparison of same-gender corpora from each publication revealed that comments on females share many more Key Concepts than comments on males, thus indicating more generalisation and less individuation in comments on females than comments on males. Further, the Key Concepts common to the two male corpora were all related to their profession, with the arguable exception of 'drinking and alcohol', which indicates that beyond their professional role, male referents were all evaluated quite individually.

Differences in Parts of speech between the two corpora for each gender, measured using WMatrix, yielded a few results of interest. Again, a focus on 'money' was indicated in the female corpora through statistically higher nouns of measurement. Greater use of first-person verbs and pronouns indicate possible higher subjectivity in *FA*, which is contrary to expectations, as Martin and White (2005) regard personal opinion as a marker of engagement with other commenters. In this case it is arguable that greater use of *I* in conjunction with females may in fact represent a decreasing of formal distance between commenter and the referent, with a perceived lower need to justify opinions with logic and argumentation. This is consistent with the 'irrealis' form of argumentation that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In terms of emotions expressed in the corpora, all four were found to contain a significantly higher number of emotional terms than the comparison corpus 'NOW' indicating that overall, discussion of politicians roused strong emotions in commenters, although negativity was highest towards females in *FA*. Overall, semantic role examination revealed a complex range of emotional expression, with females more frequently omitted and more frequently the stimulus for stative rather than reactive verbs, indicating again a more extreme reaction toward females. Overall, in the examination of emotion, it is likely that publication had a stronger effect than gender, since male referents in *The Guardian* received similar amounts of

negativity to women in *The Australian* and, as stated previously, were part of a male dominated, conservative government, which overall is not supported by Guardian readers.

Regarding overall intensification of comments, closely related to emotional reaction, the four corpora were again found to contain high levels of intensification relative to the 'NOW' corpus, with both female corpora showing smaller distances between intensifiers and hence higher density overall of intensified terms at the sentence level.

Conventions of naming and referring to referents showed some clear differences by gender. Males were named far more frequently than females although the corpora were of similar sizes, and *FG* in fact contained many more words. Female referents were found to be referred to more often by first name only and first name and title than male referents from the same publication. It was argued that longstanding conventions of referring to males by surname alone, which have little precedent in reference to females caused commenter to select either more formal forms or personal forms for women (*Penny, Ms. Wong*). The major difference by gender was that commenters were significantly more likely to address a female referent directly, as though she were reading the comment, a tendency found for both publications. This may have reflected commenters' attempts to reduce social distance between themselves and female referents, hence reducing or eliminating power distance. The fact that direct address was frequently associated with feminisation or infantilisation of males reinforces this analysis.

4.12   Discussion

Examination of Key Concepts represents a helicopter view of the corpora, revealing themes of interest to commenters, and possibly reflecting those raised by journalists in the articles to which comments were appended.

Contrary to initial appearances, the longer list of Key Concepts for females may indicate lower diversity overall since both female corpora share many semantic categories. For males instead, despite a long list of Key Concepts, the paucity of shared topics indicates a lack of clear male profiling and hence lower generalisation than for females.

The three Key Concepts which concern money: *expensive, money and pay, money generally* may reflect a general preoccupation with female politicians' deployment of public funds, a theme also mentioned for males, but far less prominent, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Similar to the findings of Pearce (2008, p.12) categories which place women in a social context are prominent: *'Kin', People, Social Actions, States and Processes;* the latter consisting of such lexical items as *behaviour, social, treated, introduced, manner, visit.* Such personalisation of actions is reminiscent of the findings of Trimble et al., (2013) for female politicians in Canada, where reporting 'shine[s] the spotlight on the politician at the expense of attention to political parties, processes, and institutions' (p. 464): their exclusion from topics relevant to politics reinforcing the possibility that women are judged personally first, rather than for their professional role.

 An examination of the concept *violent/angry* will reveal that the major theme is anger toward the female referent by the commenter, while *Evaluation: good* largely consists of the litotes *not good, t*o be discussed in Chapter 5. The prominence of the Key Concept of 'education' across both female corpora was initially thought to consistent with women in politics being more frequently appointed to portfolios associated with more traditionally female occupations. However, examination of concordances in this theme reveals that instead, this Key Concept was also closely associated with personalisation, since comments focused on speculation around the female referent's likely behaviour in her past at school, comparison of her manner to that of a schoolteacher, as well as educational policies of the government at the time.

For the male corpora, the interest in power is evident, both for possession of power and loss/ lack of power. This may be reminiscent of Baker's (2014 p. 149) observation that evidently opposing categories in evaluation of a cohort indicate the prominence or importance of that category to the cohort: In this case male politicians are more strongly associated with the pursuit of power than females. Notably, male referents are more associated with politics and law as general concepts, while as will be seen in Chapter 5, females are more associated with unlawfulness.

The prominence of alcohol concepts in the male corpora, which reflect the reporting of several incidents of excessive drinking on the part of male referents, will be seen in Chapter 6 as met by commenters with both disapproval and subdued approval.

Regarding Key Concepts, it is unsurprising that both male corpora were dominated by concepts around governance and leadership, but of note that the female corpora were not. Omission, or 'backgrounding' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.31) in discourse is a commonly noted strategy of delegitimization (Baker, 2014 p.211; Partington 2014; Meyer & Wodak, 2001 p.187; Van Leeuwen, 2008 pp.30-31), particularly notable here since all female referents had prominent political roles. By focusing on aspects other than their professional roles, commenters not only disregard their primary role, but their comments must ipso facto be concerned with factors other than their execution of duty.

The strong association between *Money* and related fiscal concepts (*pay, debts, cost and price*) and femaleness in *The Australian*, as well as commentary on female use of parliamentary facilities such as flying, indicates concern or even suspicion among commenters about the female referents' use of expense allowances in their role, as well as about their earnings and the source of those earnings. Comments in these subthemes related closely to subthemes of misuse of travel allowances (flying and aircraft) and obedience to law, raised by the Key Concepts of 'Crime' and 'investigation', further reinforcing a possible commenter mistrust in female referents capacity to handle funds. Comments to *The Australian* on female referents and money addressed policy rarely, but commenter evaluation about their fiscal decision was mostly negative, indicating general unease about female referents in the role of managing government funds.

The prominent Key Concept of 'unemployment' was consistent with Morrell and Hartley's (2006) definition of a political leader as vulnerable to loss of their position, but notable in that it was applied significantly more frequently for female subjects. As will be explored in Chapter 5, this largely concerned topoi of necessity to dismiss female referents for alleged misuse of funds, even though the sums of money mentioned as illicitly misspent by female referents was vastly lower than those spent by male referents. This raises issues of exaggeration for women, and mitigation for men, which will be discussed after the following section and extended in Chapter 6. The role of framing tropes selected by the journalists in articles in the respective

publications cannot be discounted here, but the fact that it remains prominent in the reactions of commenters demonstrates that they find the actions intolerable for women in public office, and less so for men.

Gender differences in the frequency of comments on money and use of allowances may reflect the frequent observation in research that gender attracts strong attention when it is atypical in the professional or life role (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Kanter, 2008). That political party also has a determining effect is not surprising, since it is arguable that most commenters will exhibit more negative evaluation of spending of politicians whose ideology they disagree with. This is consistent with the overarching negativity found in online reader comments to newspapers (Paskin, 2010; Coe et al., 2014, p.668; Mitchelstein, 2011; Santana, 2014; Neurauter-Kessels; 2011). Further, the predominance of calls for female referents to be removed from their roles may be indicative of differing standards for males and females as examined by Foschi and La Pointe (2018), the latter being likely to suffer larger penalties for similar misdemeanours.

That three Key Concepts 'Future', 'Affluence' and 'Using' were associated with gender but rarely or never with political party may reflect general perceptions of female politicians and their behaviours and values. Speculation on future actions and plans is likely to be consistent with the role of a policy executor as it is core to the activity of politics. However, speculation on the future of female referents in both publications was frequently accompanied by comments on sacking or leaving the political role. Also, affluence of politicians remains an ongoing concern of commenters, but appears to be appraised differently for the two genders, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

The Key Concept *using* consists largely of assertions regarding politicians tactical employment of various privileges and opportunities of their work such as parliament question time to further particular agendas. It reflects an evident evaluation that politicians behave tactically to achieve either personal or professional ends, rather than acting in the public interest. This theme is found both in exploration of Key Concepts as seen in Chapter 5 and in commenters evaluations of the politicians, as explored in Chapter 6.

4.13   Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the heterogenous nature of style and formality in online comments to two publications. It has demonstrated that the four experimental corpora were highly intensified relative to a non-specialist corpus. Different representation by gender was well supported by Key Concept analysis and logistic regression, although prominent categories such as 'Money', 'Crime' and 'Investigation' were gender mediated rather than representing traditional gender roles. There was strong concept differentiation between male and female corpora in *The Australian*, dominated by comments on money use and acquisition, caring responsibilities, employment status and crime, all of which were demonstrated to be associated with female gender through logistic regression. *The Guardian* corpora showed a far less differentiated range of Key Concepts, but with similarities in conceptual direction to *The Australian* with an emphasis on money but an otherwise mixed range of Key Concepts. Logistic regression also supported similar concepts in the area of money being central, but to a lesser extent. Finally, while politics and governance concepts were strongly evident in *MA*, *FA* showed a more personal range of concepts, with minimal discussion of referent's professional role, while *The Guardian* showed a balance in personal and professional concepts. Key Concepts shared by gender were far more numerous for females, and very limited for males, largely within the work role, while examination of adjectives in *The Australian* by gender showed a similar personal/professional differentiation for females and males respectively.

In terms of appraisal through graduation, differentiation by gender was again demonstrated, with *FG* being notably more intense than *MG*, and a modest difference in the two Australian corpora showing the same trend. Examination of emotions revealed a predominance of anger/violence in all corpora, with females and males in similar numbers of agent/experiencer roles, but females being overrepresented in patient/victim roles. Similar trends of intensity and judgement were found in counterfactuals, with many more female examples of high negativity. Finally, a study of legitimation attempted to identify the authorities upon which commenters drew to add credibility to their statements about referents. *MA* yielded different results to the other corpora, with a high level of externally imposed but weak legitimation, while *FA* was dominated by agentless passives, external obligation was of high intensity, and a high level of strong obligation was present overall. In *The Guardian* corpora, source and

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strength of obligation were similar overall, with more obligation by referent, and a wider range of named sources of external obligation.

Overall, a gender difference is well supported by the statistical data and shows similar trends in the quantitative data for appraisal-carrying features of the language. Chapter 5 will examine individual Key Concepts more deeply as well as broader themes and tropes to explore this gender effect further.

CHAPTER 5 Results 2: Riches, rorters and retribution

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter established that there were significant differences by gender between Key Concepts in reader comments in the online newspapers *The Australian* and *The Guardian.* This was revealed using semantic classifications and logistic regression. Key Concepts arising included use of and relation to money/finances by the referents, crime and unethical behaviour, and its investigation and consequences which included punishment, imprisonment, and loss of employment. Male referents were more frequently associated with concepts relating to their professional roles and policy issues arising in parliament plus other politicians as well as misuse of alcohol. Overall intensity and affective content of the corpora were examined and found to be highly intensified relative to the neutral corpus, the female corpora more so than the male. Emotional content of the corpora was also high, but with a more complex relationship to gender, depending on the semantic role of the referents. Terms of nomination, by given name, title and surname were also examined to determine how the commenters represented the relative power of the referents. Results indicated traditional tendencies in naming of the two genders, but with the addition of a more recent tendency to use the title Ms. thus not revealing the marital status of the referent and indicating a change in social behaviour if not values.

Key Concepts of 'Money', 'Crime', 'Ethics' and 'Investigation' will be examined in detail in this chapter with some quantitative but mostly qualitative analysis. The objective is to ascertain the nature of representation of referents in relation to these concepts as well as the kinds of judgements and emotions and their relative strength. 'Kin' and 'Clothing' are also examined qualitatively, being higher in the female corpora and because of their relevance to traditional gender representation as demonstrated in previous research.

5.2 Key Concept - Money

The Key Concept of money was significantly more frequent in various subthemes for female corpora from both publications, and also many more of the 12 female referents were commented on in relation to money than the 10 males. Logistic regression further revealed

that gender was a significant factor determining the higher frequency of lexemes related to money and finance. *FA* contained almost 2.5 times as many money-related comments as *MA*, and comments for females under this concept were longer ($\bar{x}$ F=45.5, M= 26.5 words) while the average length of comments in the complete female corpus was slightly shorter than for males (F=26.3, M=26.7). Further, TTR within this Key Concept indicates a richer lexicon for females or a wider range of topic matter within this Key Concept, in contrast to the wider corpus. Negative evaluation within each money-themed comment was substantially greater for females (F=77%, M= 55%) and positive, lower. See Table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Frequency of comments, comment length, TTR and polarity for Key Concept of money directed at male and female subjects

	Money Comments about referent as no. and % of total comments	Mean comment length	Frequency of comments	Total money tokens	TTR	Neg evaluation as %	Pos evaluation as %
FA	420 (8.47%)	45.5	2008	267	7.52	279 (**77**%)	1.10%
MA	148(3.1%)	26.5	835	183	4.56	156 (55.1%)	7.60%
FG	1097 (22%)	101.4	2581	239	10.8	234 (**21**%)	2%
MG	500 (10%)	61.8	816	146	5.6	93 (18%)	4.20%

In *The Guardian* Corpora differences between the two genders were again less pronounced. However, the overall number of Key Concepts in the area of money which were significantly more frequent was two for *FG* and zero for *MG*, the former with log likelihoods ranging from 7.59 to 62.92 while the latter ranged from 14.5 – 20.38, indicating a far larger preponderance of money topics in the female corpus. All comments on money which nominated one of the referents were coded for positive, neutral or negative evaluation, results presented in (Table 5.1). Comments mentioning money were more frequent for both female corpora than their corresponding male corpora as a percent of all comments within each publication. Frequency was similarly greater for females in mean comment length, TTR and negative evaluations, while positive evaluations, although low, were higher as a percentage for both male publications. Similarly, negativity was greater overall for comments in *The Australian,* but also greater for both female corpora than male corpora, within each publication.

Further evidence for the prominence of money and its use as a subtheme was found in differences in the use of parts of speech such as 'nouns as units of measurement' (NNU). These were significantly more frequent in both female corpora (*FA*: LL=63.14, LR= 0.84; *FG*: LL= 411.33, LR=.92) and consisted of sums of money and percentages. Interestingly, although sums of money were less frequently mentioned in the male corpora, the sums mentioned were markedly larger in the male corpora than the female.

5.2.1   Dissatisfaction with politicians' money management

Overall dissatisfaction with politicians' handling of monetary issues was high, hence comments concerning money were coded for subthemes to elucidate any differences between how money was discussed for each gender.   Figure 5.1 below shows the major arguments presented by commenters who were dissatisfied with referents' performance with funds. Policy was more frequently commented on overall in *The Australian*, with male percentages higher than female for both publications (*FA*=3.5% of comments, *MA*=5.2%; *FG*=1%, *MG* =2%). In both publications females were more frequently nominated as disadvantaging the taxpayer than males, while in *FA* personal misuse of government money, and naming of the referent as needing to pay back or pay for herself from own funds (Referent pays from personal finances, (Figure 5.1) were notably more frequent than in the other three corpora. Income was most frequently mentioned in *MA*.
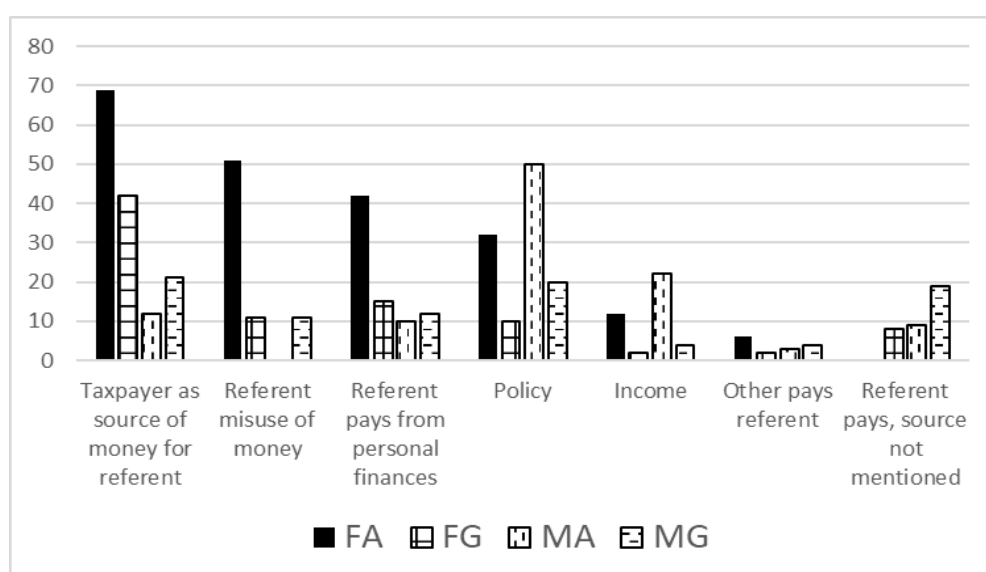
Figure 5.1
Number of themes in comments per thousand emerging within the key judgement of 'Dissatisfaction with Money Handling' for comments to The Australian and The Guardian

High frequency of the term *taxpayer* across money comments was noted in both publications. Examination showed that taxpayer was frequently named as the source of expenditure, particularly in *FA*, where it was present in 36% of comments in the Key Concept Money (see example 1 below). Meanwhile 42% of comments in *FA* expressed the view that the female referent should pay back monies spent (2), specifying her own pocket or her own funds (referent as source). Misuse of public funds was also mentioned in 45% of comments about women in *The Australian* (3, 4). Similar themes predominated for females in *The Guardian*, but at a much lower level, clustering at about 13% of comments for the themes 'Taxpayer as source', 'referent as source' and 'misuse of public funds' with levels similar to males. The main differences between comments on males and females in the two publications was that commenters more frequently specified the source of the money spent. by female politicians.

1) *tax payers money for something that you are not morally meant to spend it on. You and you families indulgence. Taxpayers are sick of it (FA)*

2) *this issue would not go away easily so, imho, she should have paid it back as it was always going to reflect badly on her and her partner (FA)*

3) *Ms Gillard was in explaining all that cash that paid for the renovation of her house and her 'young man' (FA)*

4) *If you want to take your daughter on a nice trip, foot the bill like every other hard working Australian tax payer has to (FA)*

5.2.2   Source of Salary

In a similar vein, the source of referents' salaries as coming from the Government or taxpayer was frequently mentioned in both publications (5-8):

5) *Penny Wong, at the expense of Australian taxpayers, who pay her salary, is pushing very personal and self-interested agenda (FA)*

6) *Gleeson is responsible to; the government that pays his salary. (FA)*

7) *ought to ask whether we should be paying him a full-time salary. (MG)*

8)   Triggs is a public servant paid for by taxpayers, by me (FG)

This theme was frequent in *FA* (13%), *FG* (24%) and *MG* (6%) but rare (1.5%) for male referents in *MA*. Conversely, mention of salary without reference to source was found only in *The Australian* and only for males (14%). The above comments exhibit marked use of saturation and redundancy, as in (5) *Australian taxpayers, who pay her salary* and (8) where the source of income is noted not only as *taxpayer* but subjectively, as the commenter him/herself. Such intensification was notable for females but less frequent for males.

5.2.3   Actors in the comments on Money

A feature of *FA* was the frequent use of *we* as source of salary or spending money, the percentage of possible occurrences being more than double that of *MA* and *FG* and 14 times greater than *MG*. Also, use of *we* correlated highly with comments where spending was greatly disapproved of compared to more neutral judgements in the same theme. Similarly, more frequent use of I/we as source of referent's expenditure was found for female referents as percentage, indicating an attempt to emphasise the relationship between the referent's spending and negative outcomes for the commenter. Further, where the referent was male there was an overall lack of naming of possible victims, especially in *The Australian*. Use of *I/we* both as payers of expenses and payers of salary positions the commenters as affected by of females' actions and also as in an authoritative role relative to the female referent, but rarer for males in *The Australian*, the difference yielding a log likelihood of 8.6, which is significant at p<0.001 and log ratio of 1.9, but not significant for *The Guardian* corpora. Quantitative data is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Use of terms 'taxpayer' and pronouns 'I' and 'we' in association with comments about spending of government money: raw numbers and percentages of comments on money

	FA	**FA %**	**FG**	**FG%**	**MA**	**MA%**	**MG**	**MG%**
Total Comments	92		47		58		91	
taxpayer	33	35.8696	23	47.9167	8	13.7931	4	4.34783
I-WE	19	20.6522	4	8.33333	5	8.62069	1	1.08696

5.2.4 Adjectives and income

Adjectives found immediately to the left of the word *salary* were examined for evidence of intensification and judgement. They were found to contain more frequent and more forceful inscribed intensity for females than males in both publications as shown in Figure 5.2 below. Further, the range of types was broader for females in both publications and included detail such as actual sums of money (see *FG* in Table 5.3). In *MA*, the only adjective which included some judgement was *generous* which lacks an objective, negative connotation, compared to *inflated, fat, massive* and *exorbitant* in *FA*. Adjectives in *MG* characteristically fell between the two extremes, with moderate levels of judgement (*fat, large*).

Table 5.3
Complete list of adjectives immediately left of salary/income referring directly to politicians

FA	MA	FG	MG
public purse	*annual*	*additional*	*annual*
big	*base*	*high*	*full-time*
inflated	*current*	*$300k p.a.*	*large*
fat	*generous*	*$400,000 (3)*	*fat*
massive		*seven-figure*	
exorbitant			
extraordinary			

5.2.5   Intensification

5.2.5.1   *Taxpayer as source*

Close analysis of comments within the theme of taxpayers as money source for referent revealed that while considerable ire was raised for both male and female politicians' spending of taxpayer funds, the number of comments containing intensifications, and the total number of intensifications was considerably greater in the female corpora' totalling 19 for the female corpora and 10 for the male corpora, while softened/neutral phrases number 2 and 14 respectively. Graduation is marked after each phrase or word using the following terms, defined in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4
Coding or classification of forms of Graduation within the data from The Australian and The Guardian.

	Form of graduation	Examples
Judgement.	inscribed or explicit	*ugly, delightful, clever (adj), an idiot, a gem (n), bullies favours (v), lazily, stupidly(adv)*
Intensification.	whether inscribed lexical, or isolated. Upper case text is marked as intensified also.	*Very, extremely, totally, always, never(adv), complete, utter (adj).*
Saturation.	either through exact repetition or paraphrase, whether distributed or clustered. Redundant information	*A rotten, stinking moron of an incompetent idiot A delightfully pleasing surprise that we didn't expect.*
Mitigation.	Also known as softeners (Martin & White, 2005)	*Gave her a bit of a tap, might've drunk a few, doesn't everybody?*
Elaboration.	in the form of progressively extended arguments, separated by conjunctions	*SHY can only deflect and attempt to play the gender AND race card.*

Examples 9 – 19 below show concordances containing the word *taxpayer* from the male and female Guardian corpora. Intensification and mitigation are marked with the key detailed above and in Appendix 4 p.371, after the lexeme or phrase which expresses it. (10) and (11) are highly judgmental, employing intensified adjectives and verbs, sequences of arguments and uppercase font. In contrast, (12) exaggerates representatives' entitlements to appear absurd, while (13) largely employs factual descriptions to provoke reader judgement and (14) employs cautious language in judgement (*is indicative of*).

Guardian Male corpus: Intensified

9) ***world of grandeur*** [Intensification] ***at the expense*** *of the Australian* [Judgement] *taxpayer and Abbott must* ***have been aware of this*** [Elaboration]

10) *or backing* **extravagant** [Judgement] *spending instead of Australian taxpayer* [Elaboration] *He is* ***sworn*** [Intensification] *to* **SERVE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE** [Intensification]***, NOT HIS CRONIES OR PERSONAL FRIENDS. ABBOTT SHOULD EITHER RESIGN OR BE SACKED*** [Intensification] [Elaboration].

11) *Elected by the people of Queensland ....* ***his obscene abuse*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *of* ***taxpayer funds*** [Saturation] *to* ***indulge*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *his own* ***personal fetish (***[Judgement] [Intensification] *for* ***obscure*** [Judgement] *purposes*

Guardian Male corpus: Softened/ Mitigated

12) *Representatives could all have a paid week off on the taxpayer* [Mitigation]*. Malcolm Turnbull, the human weather 'vain'*[Judgement]*.*

13) *AFP failed to convict* [Mitigation] *after spending $3million plus* [Mitigation] *taxpayer Monies* [Saturation]*, according to Clive Palmer. Abbott has also spent* ***close to 80 million plus*** [Saturation] *to convict Slipper*

14) ***Expecting*** [Judgement] *the* ***taxpayer*** [Elaboration] *to pay for*[Mitigation] *the book cases to hold them is indicative of the mentality of entitlement* [Mitigation]

Guardian Female Corpus - Intensified

15) *Another* **taxpayer funded Business Class** *trip to the US,* **five star hotels and Michelin rated fine dining** [Intensification] *is what Julie Bishop* **thrives** *on as Foreign Minister* [Saturation]*.*

16) *Trump-* **'who is this woman?** [Judgement]*; PA- 'she is the Foreign Minister of Australia; Trump-* **'give her a couple of casino chips and a buffet voucher and lets move on'** [Judgement]

17) ***shonks*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *and* ***spivs*** [Judgement] *[Intensification] who are* ***still ripping off*** [Intensification] *the week or by Skype. $37000,* ***does n't matter it 's the*** ***taxpayer*** [Judgement]. *She uncapped university entrance with* ***disastrous*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *impacts on standards.*

Guardian Female Corpus – Softened/ Mitigated

18) *As it is she will leave with a* ***couple of hundred thousand taxpayer Dollars*** *a year* [Mitigation] *as a pension from her defined benefits*

19) *for further* [Intensification] *uncomfortable* [Judgement] *questions for Michaeliar* [Judgement] *taxpayer legal bill for AWU raids hits* [Intensification] *$800,000 ;*

While overall numbers of comments on taxpayers in *The Guardian* are low, they reinforce a tendency with intensification/mitigation found in several Key Concepts in this study. Also, several phrases are marked as mitigated because they are purely descriptive of actions or monies spent, without elaboration or judgement.

5.2.5.2   Mitigation and Aggravation

In *The Australian* corpora, comments on referents spending taxpayer monies were characterised by a notably higher level of negative judgement and intensification/saturation in *FA* than *MA*. Table 5.5 shows the frequencies and percentages of negative judgements, lexical/ isolated intensification, saturation and mitigation. Note that a comment may contain more than one expression of intensity and hence percentages can rise above 100.

Table 5.5
Raw numbers and percentages of comments containing the word 'taxpayer', showing negative judgements, intensification/saturation and mitigation for all corpora.

	FA	%	MA	%	FG	%	MG	%
Total comments	84	100	29	100	41	100	32	100
Negative Judgement	72	85.71	7	3.45	28	68.3	21	67.7
Intensification	84	100	9	6.9	28	68.3	13	41.9
Saturation	17	20.24	1	10.34	26	63.4	14	45.2
Mitigation	2	2.38	12	13.8	1	2.4	0	0.0
Lacking Intensification	0	0	6	20.7	0	0	2	6.5

Mitigation appeared to serve very different functions in different contexts. In all examples of *MA*, mitigation appeared to minimise the severity of judgement and was presented as the opinion of the commenter. Use of government funds for alcohol is expressed as *subsidised* (examples 20, 23 below), which lacks negative connotation, while other criticisms are expressed in non-specific (*took his toll (21)* or euphemistic terms (*special, handsomely, naughty) (22,24,26)*. In *FA*, by contrast, one example of mitigation was expressed in the referents' voice (26, Sarah Hansen-Young), as though the referent was judging herself, the commenter then continues in their own voice with a very intensified judgement *(SHY[2].... your* (sic) *a piece of work).* In the second example, the reference to the source of funds is generalised, but also applies to a male referent *(27).*

MA

20) *and its* **subsidised** [Mitigation] *by the*   taxpayer   *. Sorry to say I have no*

21) *certainly* **took his toll** [Mitigation] *on*   taxpayers   *. His solutions pretty much*

22) *he* **milked** [Judgement] *plenty of the*   taxpayer   *. It takes a* **special** [Mitigation] *type of*

23) *undertake a simple job is drunk on*   taxpayer   **subsidised** [Mitigation] *alcohol*

24) *qualifications and ability. We the*   taxpayers   *are paying* **handsomely** [Mitigation]

25) *entertainment value for all us*   taxpayers   *.* **naughty** [Mitigation] *Doug,*

FA

26) *Cos* **I want to** [Mitigation] *go whale watching on the taxpayers behalf. SHY....***your a piece of work** [Judgment][Intensification].

27) *Cory permission to spend $76,000 of the same taxpayers* **moneypot** [Mitigation] *that SHY has spent $4,000*

Figure 5.2 shows the combined frequencies for each gender from both publications of subthemes per thousand comments, women scoring substantially more on three

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[2] SHY – Sarah Hanson-Young, South Australian Senator for the Green Party.

judgementally loaded themes: 'entitled,' in which that term is used to describe the referent; 'misuse', where referent spending is judged as improper, and 'crime' where spending is seen to be illegal. Males had substantially higher frequencies of comments under ''performance', in which the referents' actions with money were judged as either positive or negative, without reference to legality or propriety of spending. There were also substantially higher references to 'policy' for males.
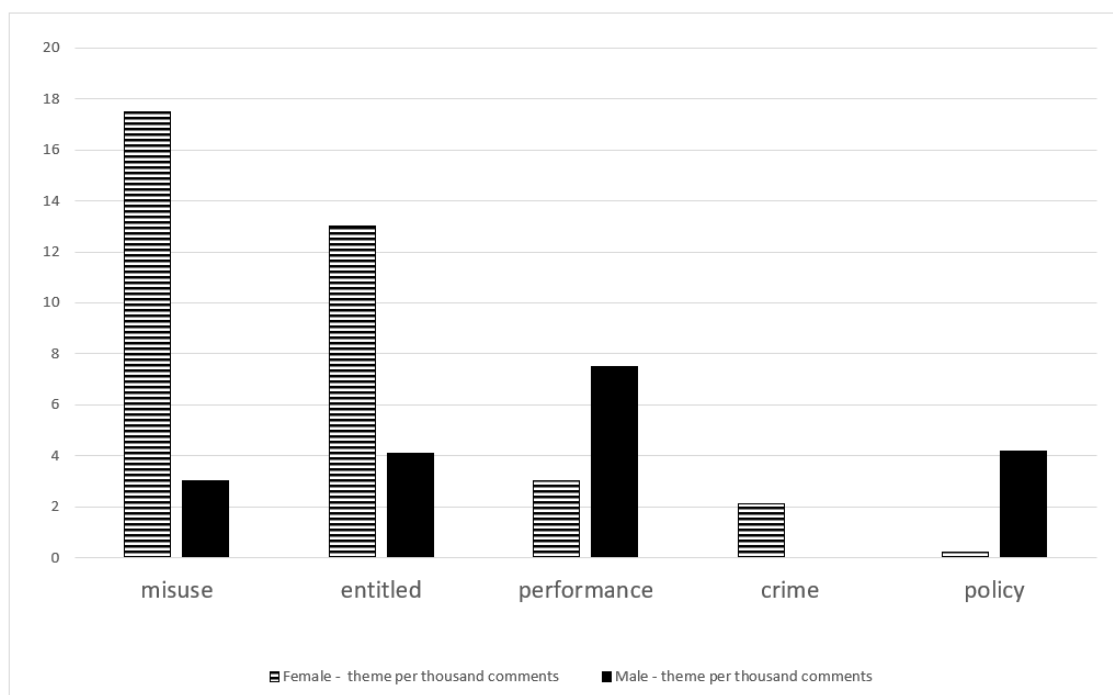
Figure 5.2
Differences in topics per thousand comments emerging within the key judgement of 'Dissatisfaction with Money Handling' for corpora combined by gender for both publications

5.2.6   Money subtheme: Entitled

'Entitled' was a strong Key Concept for women, comments describing unfair access to money, especially government allowances, desire for an extravagant lifestyle, and an attitude of disregard for taxpayers, who are mentioned as victims of poor spending decisions in21comments overall for males across the two publications, but 60 comments for females. By contrast, mentions of personal wealth for males attracted minimal negative commentary. In *FA,* qualitative analysis revealed high levels of intensification in appraisal by both lexical and grammatical means. Use of coding for intensification and mitigation is the same as in previous concordances. Lexicon used to appraise referents' relationship to money is frequently intensified: (28, 29) *massive, taxpayer salary*, with most substantives qualified by isolated

intensifiers. Further, although all political and government employees are paid for through tax, the source of referents' income is stressed in the female corpora (examples 29, 31, 33,35 below) through naming of taxpayer at a ratio of 3:1 compared to males, where the source of their income generally is not mentioned. For *MA* (38) *paying handsomely* and (39) *in excess of* lack clear negative judgement, compared to descriptions of female income*; taxpayer- funded spending credentials*. (31) (female) includes saturation in the use of parallel events *(at the same time; track down and throw in jail*) heightening the emotional case against the subject through a contrast with the plight of the poor. Further, actions of female are intensified (*all day; as much as she likes*) (35), repetition of still and the intensifier *(fit) right(in)* (31). Meanwhile, although the male (37) is described as *entitled*, this is expressed indirectly as a *picture* and therefore mitigated, and the description of his political affiliation is softened as *soft popular left*, again presenting mild judgement. Regarding earnings, massive taxpayer salary (female) suggests excess while we the taxpayers are paying handsomely lacks clear negative judgement, as does *pick up in excess of 10 million dollars* (39). Personal misuse of government money. Graduation is marked with the same appraisal coding as in section 5.2.5 on page 166 and Appendix 4, p.371.

Female:

29) *All day serving the people to earn her **massive** [Intensification] taxpayer salary. (FA)*

30) *She's still collecting her **massive** [Intensification] pay with a slight [Intensification] pay cut, and will **still** [Saturation] be getting a pension (FA)*

31) *She **certainly** [Intensification] appears to have the **taxpayer-funded spending credentials** [Intensification] to fit **right** [Intensification] in (FA)*

32) *complaining here, **understand** this [Saturation] She will not be required to   pay it back , **and her party will not sanction her** [Saturation] (FA)*

33) * grumpy with the attitude of this career **leech** [Judgement]. Probably **never** [Intensification] paid tax **in her life** [Intensification] . (I do n't count tax paid when you 're already on the government **teat** [Judgement] (FA)*

34) *she is close friends with Sarina Russo. No wonder she wanted to spend new years eve on the Gold Coast in her company. That **wasnt working** [Judgement]* (FA)

35) ***indulgent** [Intensification] junket [Judgement] why would she? She **clearly** [Intensification] feels **entitled** [Judgement] to spend **as much as she likes** [Intensification] of **other people's** [Saturation] money **under the pretence** [Judgement]*

36) *like all politicians goes there regularly. She seems to spend an **inordinate** [Intensification] amount of time in Qld**, more so than in her own electorate** [Elaboration]*

Male:

37) *picture of an **'entitled'**[Judgement] member of the soft-popular left**. No loss** [Mitigation] when he quits.*

38) *We the taxpayers are paying **handsomely** [Mitigation] for his time, so he has **plenty** [Mitigation] available to answer questions*

39) *Abbott could pick up probably **in excess of** [Mitigation] ten million dollars for a speaking tour he wanted to, also he could retire and his pension*

40) *Mathias Conmann **showing off** [Mitigation] **to all hard working** [Intensification] taxpaying Australians look at me, I'm entitled! **Easy money** [Mitigation] **no limits** [Intensification] when it comes from taxpayers. (Guard)*

Comments in this subtheme frequently exhibited marked lexical intensification and saturation. The following are from **FA**:

41) ***demand** [Intensification] that she produces the documentary evidence for the trip expenditures and justification [Saturation]. Jonathan **Was she alone in a hotel room**? [Elaboration]*

42) *this issue would not go away easily so, imho, she should have paid it back **as it was always** [Intensification] going to reflect badly on her and her partner*

43) *had the child 's condition worsened she **also** [Saturation] expect for taxpayers to pay for her to be medivaced home? **Clearly** [Intensification] the rules around travel don't apply to her [Judgement].*

44) *must this **nonsense** <u>continue</u> ? She must be **pulled into line** [Intensification] and   pay for her **abuse of the taxpayer** [Intensification] **How lucky can you get.?** [Saturation]*

45) *information requested. She is a <u>serial</u> [Intensification] **offender**, having had to pay back <u>more than once</u>. She **scraped** [Intensification] into parliment by the skin of her nose [Intensification]*

46) *Perhaps even <u>further</u> [Saturation] recognise that the money she is spending is not <u>HERS</u> [Intensification]. How **despicable** [Judgement] [Intensification, she is **caught out** [Judgement] [Intensification] and **blames** [Judgement] [Intensification] the kid*

Similar intensification is seen in FG in the form of boosters *(plenty) (47), (since when / anybody) (51)* infused intensification *(rant)(49), fucking (50), (rorter)(51)* and also included several examples of ironic understatement *(good at seeming to care)(47), (a tad)(48), (happy to hand over (49).* Sums of money are also detailed as evidence of excess (48,49).

47) *Disability Care, and others.; She spent **plenty** [Intensification] of taxpayers money. ; She was **good at** [Mitigation] **seeming to care** [Intensification]*

48) *I guess building costs have gone up **a tad** since Gillard spent $450k **of taxpayers money** [Saturation] on renovations to her Adelaide home*

49) *While Julie Bishop may **rant** [Judgement] [Intensification] about a Labor candidate's connections to **Islamic extremism**, in March 2015 she was **happy to** [Mitigation] **hand over** $500,000 of taxpayer's money to a **so-called** [Judgement] Melbourne 'Islamic Museum of Australia'*

50) *Question: **Why should** the taxpayers pays for her **fucking** [Judgement] [Intensification] 'whiteboard' fees?*

51) ***Since when** [Intensification] do we this travel **rorter** [Judgement] [Intensification] for giving lectures to China **or anybody for that matter** [Saturation]*

Modal verbs such as *should, must, needs* and *has to* appeared prominently in all Key Concepts of 'Money' in the female corpus of *The Australian*. Thus, we analysed both Australian corpora closely by comparing numbers and intensification within comments, excluding other functions of modals such as prediction. Females outnumbered males as subjects of modal verbs in *The Australian* corpora (Fn=27, Mn=3; LL 9.55, p<0.05). Examples (52-57) are selected from the female corpus and are characterised by high obligation (*must, have to*) and moral/rational obligation (*should*). Examples 58 – 60 account for all of verbs of obligation applied to males in the subtheme of money The verb *promise* accounted for two of the male tokens (examples 59, 60), an agentive rather than externally imposed sense of obligation. *Must* and *has to* were absent from the male subcorpus, along with an overall absence of intensification. The only modal of obligation found for males was *need,* which Biber and Finegan (1989) suggest is less extreme and can be interpreted as having the sense of *'inevitable'* or *'constrained by circumstances'.*

Female Money Subcorpus:

52)   a **serial** offender, having had to pay back **more than once**. (FA)

53)   both were wrong. SHY[3] **must** repay the money and explain (FA)

54)   her expense on the taxpayer, she **should** do that by justification (FA)

55)   **should** be awarded an **indecent** amount of money (FG)

56)   see if she actually **should** be **charged** with **fraud**. (FG)

57)   she **should** be pulled into line by her leader. (FA)

Male Money Subcorpus:

58)   Allan he also **needs** some tests on his finances (MG)

59)   not done any of the things he **promised** the people. (MG)

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[3] Sarah Hanson-Young, Greens senator for South Australia

60)   *Remember the previous PM who **promised** to shirt front Vlad (MA)*

5.2.7   Collocations within the theme of money

As mentioned previously, in order to summate collocations by gender, the corpora were gender marked, that is, all instances of referents and their pronouns were replaced with the words *man* or *woman*. To calculate significance of collocations, Wmatrix supplies a Mutual Information (MI) score among other statistical measures. MI was chosen for this analysis because it is suitable for comparison between different-sized corpora (Baker, 2014 p.147). The score required to determine statistical significance of MI scores varies between authors, with some endorsing no less than 6 (Hunston, 2002) or as low as 3 at the $p<0.5$ level (Baker, 2014, p.25). However, the collocation data in this analysis combines several referents into two generic words, *man* and *woman*, rendering the collocations less unique and thus lowering all scores. MI yields high scores where two words collocate exclusively with each other, but lower scores where one or both of the words in a collocate with other words (Baker 2014). For this reason, MI scores of 3 or higher are regarded as statistically significant. Other statistical measures of collocation such as Simple Matching Coefficient tend to yield results close to overall relative frequency, while MI favours uniqueness among high scoring collocates, thereby suppressing common grammatical collocations and collocations which are shared with words other than the node word. Since this study substituted all words pertaining to male and female politicians with the words *man* or *woman*, the uniqueness of all collocations is likely to be lowered, which to some extent counteracts the tendency of MI to over privilege very infrequent items. Since MI scores of 3 or higher are considered statistically significant at the $p<0.5$ level, this score will be used to identify items of interest. However, its limitations in privileging unique collocations were kept in mind while interpreting results.

Collocations of *man* or *woman* with any terms from all Key Concepts concerning money were extracted Money subthemes collocating with *woman* were more varied than those for *man* in both publications (*The Australian* F=11, M=4; *The Guardian* F=13, M=1). Also, six collocations with *WOMAN* in *The Australian* had an MI score above 3, while *MAN* had none, and *The Guardian* had one for each gender. As a percentage of words, there were far greater numbers of collocations for money in both female corpora, indicating more repeated phrases and uniform themes. Collocations of *WOMAN* with *tax* and *taxpayers* was far more frequent both

in total and by percentage for both female corpora. More collocations for females contained negative judgement of the referent over use of government funds.

5.2.8   Summary and discussion of issues arising in 'Money'

Overall, the topic of money was significantly more frequent for females in the word lists of both publications; logistic regression results supporting the notion that gender was a determining factor and collocations with *man* and *woman* further adding weight to this finding. For females, subthemes within this topic focused on unfair access to funds (entitlement), illegitimate use of government funding by referent, and overspending, while for males the most common mention of money was in relation to policy and performance with government money. Males were more commonly judged as incompetent with government money; however, this judgement was not associated with illegitimate use of funds, but more frequently with policy, and fewer consequences were mentioned for incorrect spending for males, those mentioned being expressed in general and less judgemental language than for females. For females, in contrast, comment on spending of government money as part of their portfolio was rarely commented on. Examination of the subtheme of 'entitlement' revealed more inscribed judgement for females. While intensification was common for both genders, it was more extreme and denser for females including considerable repetition of words and argument, indicating saturation of judgement in the text. Softened judgement was noted for males but absent for females. Negative evaluation of female relationships to money was more frequent for both female corpora. Also, 'source of money spent' as well as 'source of money to be repaid' was more commonly raised for females, with more frequent use of pronouns *I*, *we*, emphasising the personal impact of the female referents' decisions on commenters.

Commenters were evidently more interested or possibly concerned by the spending of money by female referents, as shown by the vastly larger number of comments and themes. The mostly negative evaluation of referents in the theme of money, and frequently expressed through judgement, is consistent with earlier findings of high overall negativity in reader comments (Paskin, 2010, p.78). It is possibly further exacerbated by a broader negative attitude toward politicians. Such negativity may have been influenced by a predominance of centre to right voters in *The Australian*, as they are traditionally associated with small government and low government spending. However, this does not explain the greater

commenter reaction to spending by female referents rather than male. Overall disapproval of spending by female referents may reflect the number of articles on this topic produced by *The Australian*   Also, analysis of subthemes revealed that male politicians were largely criticised for spending decisions made as part of their professional role, while for females, negative judgement was largely related to claims of illegitimate use of government allowances.

The clear dominance in the female corpus of 'Money' related Key Concepts, consisting of judgements of entitlement and possible misuse/abuse of government funds, suggests a concern among commenters about female politicians' ability to manage finances. This may also be responsible for the more frequent judgement and intensification in comments about females in this Key Concept but does not readily explain the more severe consequences suggested by commenters for female management of money, or the frequent association of female referents with illicit use of funds. By contrast, the predominant focus of comments on policy and performance in financial management for males, also reinforced that roles are perceived differently by gender. Although intensification, as an indicator of strength of feeling, was high for both corpora, it was greater for females with more saturation and stronger lexical intensification, a finding consistent with the higher numbers of negative judgements of females. However, several examples in the female corpus showed especially high levels of intensification and maximisation, and a paucity of softeners (e.g., *somewhat, slightly*) to mitigate strength of negative judgement. In contrast, such softeners were more common for comments on males.

The preoccupation with females and money whether earning or spending their own or public funds is not without precedent. As Hartsock (1986) concluded, money is a major conduit of power, as is discourse, from a CDA perspective. In fact, Burgoyne (2004) argued that money is in the male domain, with women still often dependent on men for financial security, the traditional economic model of society being the family with a male breadwinner. In fact, women seeking financial security have been frequently stereotyped as 'gold-diggers' in popular culture (Ibroscheva, 2006; Sandlin et al., 2011).

Use of *I/we* both as payers of expenses and payers of salary invokes the idea of commenters as stakeholders in the consequences females' actions and also possibly indicates commenters' relatively stronger attitude of agency and authority over females, reinforced by the fact that

source of funds is less often mentioned for males in both publications. It also suggests greater subjectivity ((Bednarek, 2006) and hence stronger and more personal reaction to females. In summary, commenters were more likely to name the public or taxpayers as the source of money spent by female referents in both publications, and also to demand that female referents reimburse the government from their own savings. Comments to *The Australian* were more numerous on policy and income, while in *MA*, comments about misuse of government funds were notably absent.

5.3 Crime

The theme of illicit use of funds by referents has been outlined in the above section on 'Money', raising the related theme of lawbreaking or crime. In *The Australian*, 'Crime' was the second most highly differentiated Key Concept between males and females after 'money', being significantly more frequent for females (LL:34.15; LR .95) and associated with six of the ten female referents but only one male. No significant gender difference was found in terms of frequency of comments in *The Guardian*, but crime-themed *c*omments were present for five of the ten female referents, but only one of the males. The prominence of the Key Concept of 'Crime' for female referents in *FA* was not predicted, especially given that none of the female referents was ever charged with a crime. It was also noted that in each corpus, there was an inverse relationship between the frequency of crime terms and the frequency of terms in the Key Concept of 'ethics', raising the possibility of 'aggravation' (Culpeper, 1996) in which exaggeration or metaphor cause less serious alleged misdemeanours to be interpreted as illegal. This was evident in informal examination of *The Australian* corpora where comments were noted to contain strong judgements and attitudes about the targets in the field of crime, despite the absence of clearly related events, especially in the *FA* corpus.

In this section, relative frequency of crime terms was examined to determine which gender if any was more often associated with criminal activities or outcomes, the relative severity of criminality for each gender and the relative frequency of such allegations. It then goes on to determine commenter attitude to such allegations in terms of judgement, emotion and intensity.

5.3.7   Comparison of relative levels of crime mentioned in in the corpora

Density of crime terms was calculated by their proportion relative to total numbers of comments in each corpus, which were fairly similar in number. This was done to avoid the problem of underestimation of density of crime terms in *FG*, where comments were considerably longer than in the other corpora (mean no. words *FG*:58, *MG*:25). This appears a legitimate strategy as it more accurately reflects the number of commenters who have raised the issue of crime, rather than the length of the comments made, which, as established in Chapter 5, contained double the amount of words compared to comments in the other three corpora.

Table 5.6 shows that *FA* exhibited the highest density of crime terms, slightly less than double that of the other corpora at 0.08 % of tokens (*b*), as well as the greatest variety of types: nearly double that of *MA* at 38 and 20 respectively (*d*) indicating a more varied range of crime topics in *FA*. Logistic regression also revealed that gender was responsible for the statistically significant difference in the Key Concept crime between the two Australian corpora. Tokens for crime were marginally greater as a percentage for *FG* compared to *MG* although types were similar in number, indicating that for both publications, the topic of 'crime' was more frequently raised for females, although the variation in types of crimes was similar in both Guardian publications.

Table 5.6
Frequency and percentages of Key Concepts 'crime' and 'unethical' across the four corpora, as % of corpora and % of combined Key Concepts

Concept		*FA*	*FG*	*MA*	*MG*
TOTAL CRIME AND ETHICS	**Frequency**	**151**	**372**	**156**	**403**
CRIME	**a) Tokens freq.**	95	146	40	74
	b) % of tokens	0.08	0.05	0.034	0.043
	c) % of combined crime/ethics	62.9	39.25	25.64	18.4
	d) Types	38	37	20	28
	e) Types % of corpus	0.29	0.15	0.145	0.15
	f) TTR	2.5	3.94	2	2.64
ETHICS	**Tokens freq.**	56	226	116	329
	g) % of tokens	0.05	0.077	0.1	0.002
	h) % of combined crime/ethics	37.09	60.75	74.36	81.6
	i) types	27	96	41	73
	j) types % of corpus	0.2	0.38	0.3	0.39
	k) TTR	2.07	2.35	2.83	4.5

It was noted that while crime was more frequent in *FA*, and the Key Concept 'unethical' lower in frequency, the reverse was true in *MA*. Numbers for 'unethical' were correspondingly higher for the male corpora, as a percent of both the whole corpus and the combined Key Concepts *(h)* being approximately double the size of *FA. The Guardian* corpora demonstrated the same direction of results but with a far smaller difference. It was therefore decided to

combine 'crime' numbers with those for Key Concept 'unethical' as a similar but less extreme concept to combine the ratio of each in the corpora, and therefore ascertain whether there was a likely effect of aggravation or mitigation by gender.

Tokens were lemmatized to combine number and tenses, then compared for each gender within each publication, but not across publications, by creating a word cloud which represented the relative proportions of 'crime' vs 'ethics'. The word clouds represent the differences in frequency of each lexical item by font size, while black font represents criminal/ illegal lexis and grey, the lower severity of unethical or dispreferred. Note that the font size for each word reflects its frequency as a binary log ratio, meaning that 'crime' for the female corpus had the highest frequency at 49 occurrences but is presented as seven times the font size of the least frequently occurring words; that is, the square root of its frequency. This was undertaken for practical purposes, to enable all lexis to fit onto the page, but the actual frequency differences are much greater than they appear. Vocabulary items with a frequency of one were excluded from the figures to reduce the data to a manageable level for all corpora. Figure 5.3 shows results for *The Australian*, and figure 5.4 for *The Guardian*. Complete tables of lemmas and their frequency are found in Appendix 3, p.365.

Figure 5.3
Differences in frequency and intensity of shared vocabulary for males and females in The Australian corpora. The scale is binary log (square root of frequency ratios)
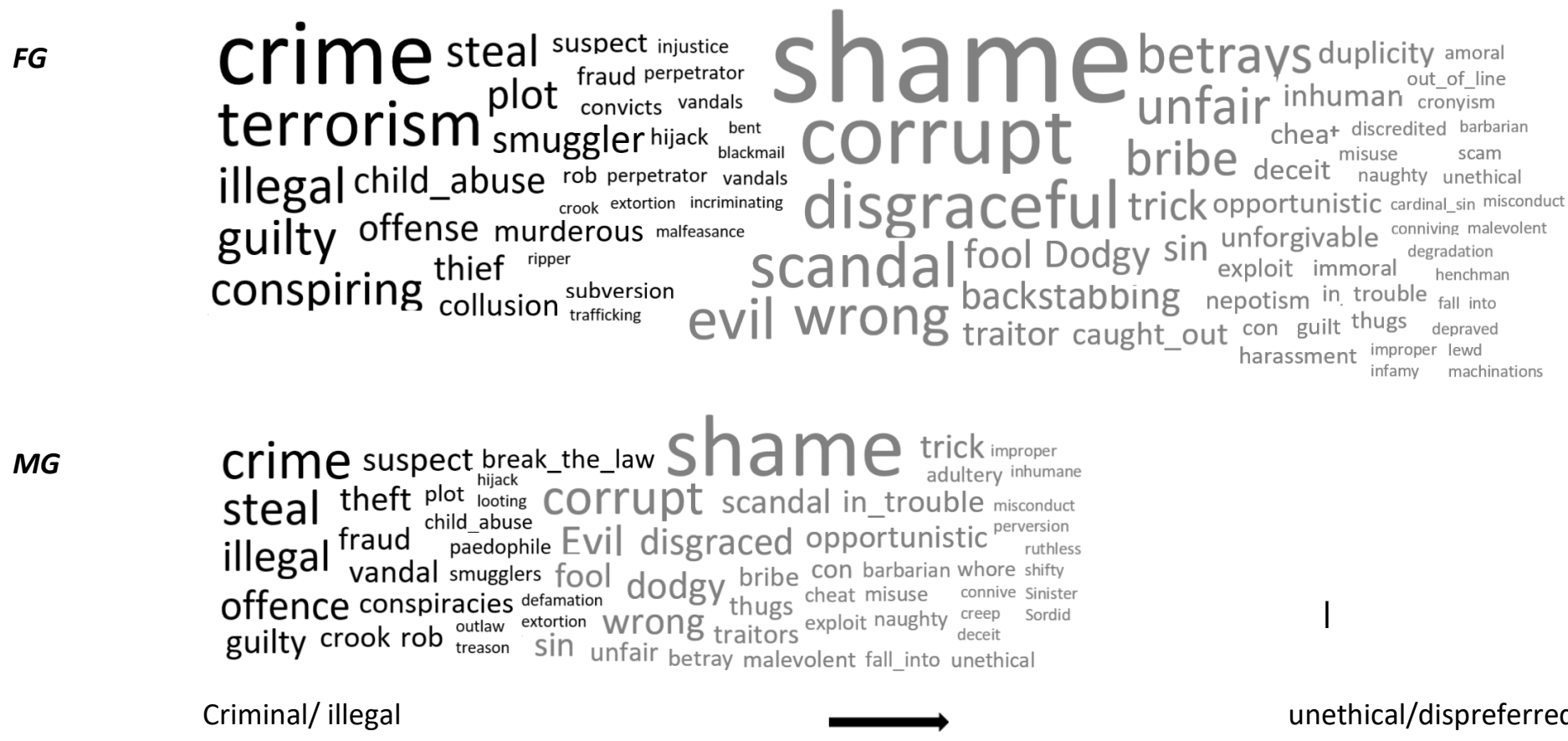
Figure 5.4
Differences in frequency and intensity of shared vocabulary for males and females in The Guardian corpora. The scale is binary log (square root of frequency ratios)

The Australian corpora show both a greater range of criminal terms applied to females and an overall higher frequency. The *MA* corpus demonstrates far lower frequency of criminal terms, with a corresponding weight towards the less severe or dispreferred end of the scale. Results also demonstrate a register difference between *MA* and *FA*, the latter consisting mostly of standard legal terms and more formal vocabulary (*crime, fraud, conspiracy, offence*), while the vocabulary for *MA* exhibits more idiomatic, informal terms (*fool (v), out of line, dodgy*) as well as mitigating terms such as *trick*, *mischief* and *naughty.* The original table and percentages for data in both figures are found in Appendix 4, p.371.

Terms of crime and ethics for *The Guardian* exhibit a less clear tendency to intensification or mitigation. Regarding gravity, vocabulary is distributed more evenly from 'criminal' to 'dispreferred', while for *FA*, overall numbers of each term are generally higher. Further, not only is severity more equal between the two corpora, but there are also fewer mitigating and idiomatic terms. However, in *FG*, the words *evil, corrupt, disgraceful* are notably more frequent than in *MG*.

5.3.2 'Law and Order': enactment of power

The Key Concept 'Law and order' covers terms regarding the structure of the legal system, roles within the law, such as *Counsel, solicitor, Attorney General*, structures and process of law enforcement such as *police, bail, handcuffs, custody*; and punishments such as *fines* and *imprisonment*. Terms in each corpus were coded according to preponderance of subthemes, the following themes covering all terms: 'law', 'government', 'punishment', 'imprisonment' and 'law enforcement'. *FA* was dominated by 'imprisonment', 'punishment' and 'law enforcement', while 'law' and 'government' dominated the other three corpora. Both *Guardian* corpora were dominated by references to 'law', while *FG* had a moderate number of 'law enforcement' terms (18%), which were minimal in the male corpora. The dominance of imprisonment, law enforcement and punishment terms in *FA* motivated further exploration of comments containing these terms in comparison with the scarcer terms in the same categories in the other corpora. Another prominent term in the *FA* corpus was *AFP* (Australian Federal Police) which was absent from the other corpora and hence was investigated at the comment level.

5.3.3 Lock her up

The topic of a prison sentence for the politician was raised ten times for females in *The Australian*, zero for males; while in *The Guardian* it was nine for females and four for males, continuing the pattern of greater polarization by gender in *The Australian*. Comments in this subtheme in the *FA* were characterised by high intensity vocabulary, marked in the examples below in bold font. High saturation was also found in the form of polysyndeton, or strings of clauses separated with conjunctions or adverbs, (examples 63, 65, 68), and elaboration (examples 64. 65. 67).

Also notable is the commenters' use of imperatives (63,65) and the reinforcement of authority in the phrase *Everyone knows (65)* as well as exaggeration of time periods*: decades (64) long since (66)* and quantities *a lot more (69)*. Notably, mitigation is employed relative to the judgement on females, when commenters mention citizens who may have committed illegal acts (67). Coding is the same as in the previous section on 'Money': Judgement, Intensification Saturation, Mitigation and Elaboration.

63) *Ok **don't leave it at that. Make her pay it back** and **charge her with fraud*** [Judgement], [Intensification], [Elaboration]. *Then after **her jail term*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *she can see how she likes the **bullshit***[Intensification] *welfare system (Aus)*

64) ***Step 1** Bronnie resigns as speaker; **Step 2** Bronnie resign as MP; **Step 3** AFP commence investigation; **Step 4** AFP charge Bronnie; **Step 5** Bronnie convicted (and **hopefully*** [Elaboration] ***sent to prison*** [Elaboration];*Step 6 Bronnie pays back to the **Aussie people*** [Saturation] ***every cent*** [Intensification] *that she has spent in her **decades*** [Intensification] *of **entitlement*** [Judgement] *and **luxury*** [Judgement] [Saturation] *(Aus)*

65) ***Everyone knows*** [Intensification] *there are whales in the Great Australian Bight including you SHY. So **stop crapping on*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *trying to defend the **indefensible*** [Judgement] [Intensification]. ***Pay it back or go to jail*** [Judgement][Elaboration] (*2,5) (that should but won't happen). (Aus)*

66) *Those who write these posts would **long since** [Intensification] have been in jail for the crimes committed by the lies of Thomson, and possibly Gillard. That's what makes people **angry**.* [Elaboration] *(Aus)*

67) ***Should** be **charged and jailed** [Intensification] just the same as some **poor; bastard** [Mitigation] that diddles centerlink out of **a few dollars.** [Mitigation] (Aus)*

68) *She should be **done as a criminal** [Judgement] [Intensification] for **fraud** [Judgement] [Intensification] and **lose that pension** [Elaboration]. **Jail time, too** [Elaboration], for the **self-serving scum** [Judgement] [Intensification]. (Aus)*

69) *Bet the Libs' internal audits revealed **a lot more** indiscretions. A stint in **jail** for **fraud** might be just what Brownyn needs. (Aus)*

Similarly, comments on males and imprisonment in *The Guardian* exhibited saturation and polysyndeton although such comments were far less frequent. Further, as the two comments below (70,71) show, commenters avoided direct endorsement of a prison sentence, but instead made analogies to similar characters or to attributes of the referent. In (70) below, the male referents actions are expressed in the passive, implying that his major misdemeanour was not to resist pressure to compromise, meanwhile he is compared to geniuses, a positive comparison despite their alleged criminality. In (71) although judgement is negative and much intensified: *vandal, barbarian, village idiot),* the reference to jailing the male referent is made indirectly: *prison stripes to go with his blue tie* in contrast to the direct naming of prison and imperatives in the female corpora.

70) *The man's credentials matter **not a whit** when he **allows himself to be compromised** [Mitigation] by his **unethical** [Mitigation] behaviour. **There is many a genius in jail but that doesn't mean they are not criminals** (Guardian)*

71) *Tony Abbott is a **vandal**, a **barbarian** of the **most village-idiot** persuasion this country has ever seen. He should be in prison stripes to go with his blue tie. (Guardian)*

In contrast comments on females and imprisonment in *The Guardian* were largely characterised by brevity and high intensity as seen in examples *72 – 75* below. Of note is the

casual tone in examples (72): *off to jail* and (73) *jail time* including a reference to the board game Monopoly. These elements could be classified as mitigation, operating much as the *prison stripes* in example (71) above or alternatively (72), (73) and (74) may denote a lack of affect toward the referents, thus assessing them as of no importance to the commenter. Example 74 presents the mention of prison as a conditional question, hence indirectly and without force. Example (75) elaborates on information, but all examples lack intensifying language. Casual language is also employed: *pretty sure/ not bad* which conflicts with the seriousness of the final clauses, as does the negative gearing of a house which she had *forgotten* she bought. Such a conflict of affect is typical of sarcasm (Partington, 2013), but may also reflect commenter preference for mild judgement of females, as is more prevalent in both male corpora.

72) *She does that,* **off to jail she goes** [Mitigation]*, and* **do not collect $200 cash**. *(FG)*

73) **They're coming for you** *Cash!!*[Mitigation] **Jail time**. [Mitigation] *(FG)*

74) *If Cash is found to have lied* **would she be looking at serving a prison sentence**?

75) *She slid a white board around a bit. She forgot she bought her neighbors house.* **Pretty sure she remembered to negative gear it though**. *And also her $4.00 an hour internships.* **Not bad in 6 years**. *Ironic isnt it.... she's the one who should be in Folsom Prison* [Judgement]*...or any* **bloody** [Intensification] *prison! (FG)*

Another Key Concept prominent in *The Guardian* for females, which appears related to 'crime' and 'ethics' is that of 'using'. It is typified by lexis such as *exploit*, *consume* and *used* most of which have an instrumental or goal directed function, often in the form of *to+verb*, (*to bring, to say, to denigrate*) as identified by Van Leeuwen (2008, p.60). These structures according to Van Leeuwen tend to be material and demonstrate agency over others as seen in the examples below:

76)	*engaging in a conspiracy*	**using** *a foreign government to bring*
77)	*lose julie bishop has*	**used** *her profile to say something*
78)	*out her own bullying and*	**using** *the 'bullying' excuse just*

79) *ridicule and scapegoating are*   **used** *as everyday tools for controlling*

80) *right wing media. she in fact,*   **used** *every opportunity to denigrate*

Hence, while women are underrepresented overall in agency roles, the above examples represent women in executive positions as powerful. For example, *using a foreign government* (*76* above)*,* as lacking in ethics or judgement: as *bullying (78), scapegoating (79)*, and opportunistic (*every opportunity (80)*.

5.3.4 Representing action: realis and irrealis mood

Realis and irrealis moods are those lexical verb formations which indicate whether a speaker knows an action to have happened in the real world (realis, for example, past tense) or to be a possible, hypothetical, potential or desired event (irrealis) (Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2021). Realis mood was more frequent in the male than female corpora, as well as irrealis moods that indicate possibility in reality (conditional and potential). Of note is the frequency of social/interpersonal forms of irrealis for females, including deontic, which indicates obligation, desiderative, which was markedly more frequent and shows what the commenter wants to occur, and hence a greater emotional investment by the speaker; dubitative, indicating scepticism, and imperative, indicating attempts to force or control the referent. The following small sample of vocabulary in the theme of imprisonment (*gaol, jail, prison, imprison*) each with the politician as undergoer indicates the nature of this trend. Since numbers are too low to be conclusive, they are presented as a ratio in Table 5.7, and indicate a trend that is borne out in the wider corpus, as will be discussed.

Table 5.7
Ratio of realis/irrealis moods in comments on males and females in the theme of imprisonment N:41 (F:31; M:10)

Higher in female corpora		Higher in male corpora	
deontic	2.25	conditional	3.1
desiderative	19	hypothetical	6.2
dubitative	3.2	potential	1.24
imperative	9.6	realis	1.86

5.3.5   The Crimes: travel and spending

The comments around money, criminal and unethical activity in all corpora are dominated by the two subthemes of travel and spending.

The dominance of these subthemes is even stronger in the theme of 'flight and aeroplanes', which is included here because many of the calls for female politicians to be gaoled centred around discussion of allegedly misused flying privileges, while discussion of males accused of the same did not mention imprisonment despite such discussions being considerably more numerous.

The following sample of comments related to flight and aeroplanes compare the two publications because *The Australian* mentioned only females in relation to flight, and *The Guardian* largely mentioned males. Of the 134 comments (M:83, F:51), realis verbs for males clearly outnumbered those for females (M:39, F:17) (LL:9.09, OR:0.43) but what was more striking was that comments on females in realis mood, often did not deal with real events, while for males realis verbs tended to be evidential and reflect true events. Below is an illustrative sample. In comments (*81 – 86* below), all from *The Australian*, the commenter(s) present the female politician as throwing away $100 bills (*81*). She is compared to an online scammer offering a gold helicopter (*82*); owning multiple helicopters, is associated with the broadcaster Yasmin Al Magied, who left Australia after she was attacked on social media for comments that were perceived as unpatriotic (*84*). She is reported as claiming that helicopter flights were her 'entitlement' (*85*); is presented as using government funded flights for private purchases and parties (*86*).

81)   *she later submitted an expense claim for the cost of the helicopter and the **$100 bills she threw away**. (Aus)*

82)   *celebrate the end of Bronwyn Bishop and receive a **24 carat gold helicopter** from   your friendly **Nigerian Prince**. Well **ladies and gents** here (Aus)*

83)   *enjoying **all the laughs** from her, all the photos of her and her helicopters, it can't end now Need to switch Steps 2 and 3, I believe. (Aus)*

84) *Wait SHY: YAM[4] **has a spare seat next to her on the plane to the UK***!!! *There's still time ... (Aus)*

85) *Not the department of administrative affairs. The helicopter lady whats her name, oh yes, Bronwyn Bishop also claimed it was her entitlement. (Aus)*

86) *She has **had a lend of us** and has to go. So **flying around in privare jets to buy investment properties and attend parties is how she works** (Aus)*

The above examples contrast with comments on male politicians, which rarely refer to unreal events and largely evaluate the flight in terms of its justifiability; whether more economical alternatives were available and whether the trip was in fact necessary in the light of the work duties he needed to perform. While several evaluations are intensely negative (*94,97,100*) the comments include verifiable details (*87-90*) and legitimizing sources of information (*89, 90,93,99*) as evidence as well as considerable technical detail, (*89, 90*). Several comments also defend the politician's use of the aircraft (*89,91,92,93,96,98,99*).

87) *All were opposed to the corporate tax plan. Of the 193 requests for special purpose aircraft in the first half of 2018, only Senator Cormann's booking for June 22 involved a single plane*

88) *because 1) scheduled flights to Perth are plentiful and much cheaper on all four airlines, 2) his family was waiting for him in Perth, 3) the senators he met in Adelaide*

89) *between Sydney &; Canberra 123 times, in fact because the fleet is based in Canberra his jet flew the route 39 times without him or any other passengers aboard.*

90) *ties in Canberra in the morning then visit Adelaide on the way back to Perth ... he booked flights on a CL604 Challenger defence jet, attracting a cost 20 times the price of the ticket*

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91) *if he wanted to wrap up negotiations shortly thereafter ... and its a sign of respect to fly out to meet someone one on one.*

92) *ridiculous. Corman did nt get this amount as cash. It was the notional cost of him flying on the charter. For parliamentary business. Because he has a job and a purpose.*

93) *number of hours flying each year and it might as well take Mathias where he wants rather than flying around empty. Dan Tehan has defended the finance minister Mathias Cormanns decision*

94) *SOLE PASSENGER on a $37,000 taxpayer funded flight. Truly vile and disgusting. he was*

95) *flying across Australia and back. he was flying home to Perth for the weekend and decided to drop*

96) *that there was no valid reason to meet with cross benchers ? So he just wasted his time flying to see them. For what possible personal benefit? Your comment does nt pass the sniff test*

97) *these pompous arseholes claim to be oppressed. Bronnie still having withdrawals from the helicopters? Rowan Dean being held down by people trying to give him a haircut? Mark Latham*

98) *FYI When Conroy came up with the NBN he was on the PM 's jet, with PM Rudd Thats his job - to get their proposed laws passed. he travelled*

99) *And already on SKY the PR machine is in overdrive with claims that the jet has to do a certain number of hours flying each year and it might as well take Mathias where*

100) *ten minutes and get told sod off I 'm not supporting you. ; Cormanns also got form for planeflights as he 's been up to Broome a few times with the wife and kiddies on gov't business*

To further ascertain the differences in attitude, intensity and gravity of actions associated with gender, comments making references to the Australian Federal Police (*AFP)* were examined in detail. Again realis/irrealis verb mood presented as a useful way of identifying the relative

emphasis on evidential/event-based information and evaluative/judgmental information. *MA* was excluded because *AFP* was not mentioned in any comments. In Figure 5.6 below, it is evident that *FA* has the lowest proportion of realis verbs in the subtheme of *AFP*, with relatively high proportions of predictive and deontic moods, in agreement with findings for 'imprisonment'. Desiderative moods were also relatively frequent in *FA*, but analysis of comments revealed that all such examples (n=6) described the desiderative state of the commenter, not the referent. *FG* contained a balance of both realis and irrealis forms especially in interrogative forms while *MG* had the highest proportion of realis verbs and in fact the related comments dealt with real investigations undergoing at the time of the newspaper release. Patterning in the figure demonstrates the greater similarity between the verb moods in *The Guardian* corpora, which are shown in the use of various stripes, while spots represent moods shared by all three corpora.
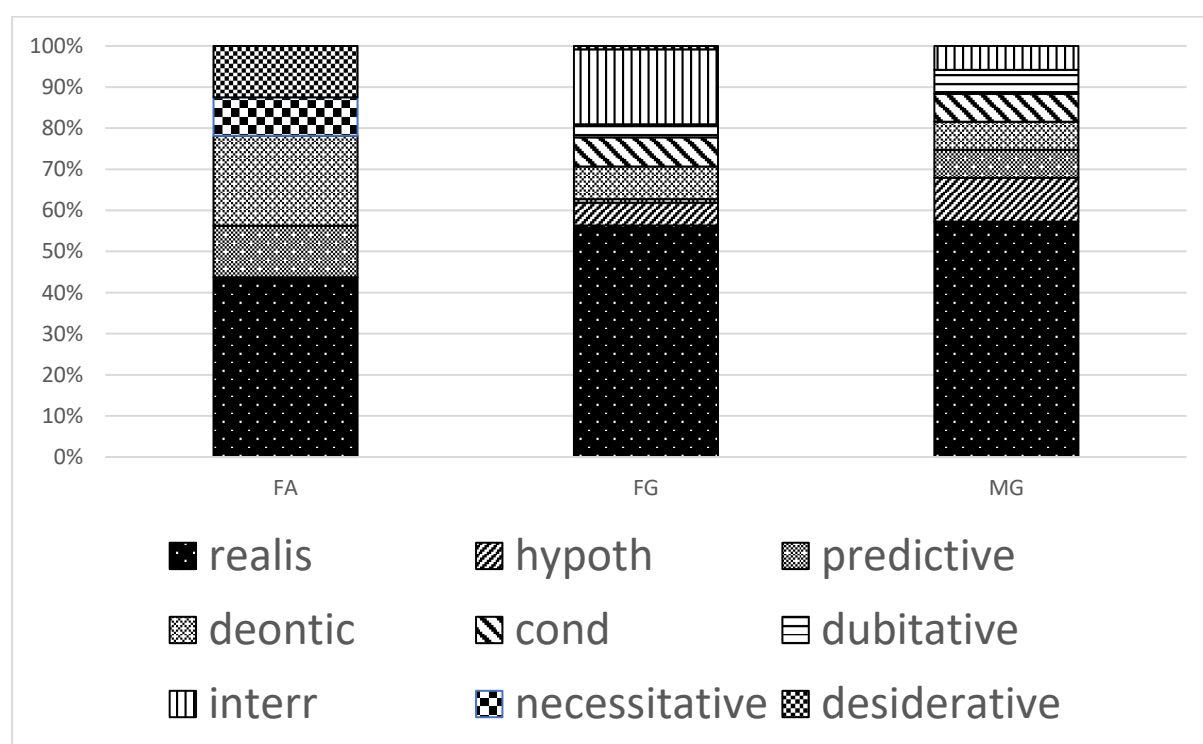
Figure 5.5
Realis versus irrealis verbs in comments containing the term AFP for three corpora

While differences in frequency in realis forms for *FG* and *MG* were not large (10% of *AFP* sample), it was noted that several more comments in the female corpus included the female referent as the target of *AFP* investigation (*FG*: 10/36), while for *MG* the number was 3/15. Examination of comments citing *AFP* investigation of the female politician (below) revealed

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greater saturation through cumulative evidence (101,102) elaboration (103), repetitions (105, 106) and larger numbers of evaluative judgement comments for females than males, frequently presented as abstract alleged actions by the referent which cannot easily be verified, as in the following examples: (101) *Cash revealed; (102) refuse to fully cooperate; attempting to brush their queries off; (103) history of self-indulgence; blurring of the Speaker's entitlements; (106). the more guilty she looks; (107) lying to the senate committee (108) did not pass the sniff test; the smell about the cover up; (109) shonky non-statement to the AFP; deflect from her failings; (111) still saying nothing.*

101) *Cash also revealed she had not read the estimates transcript, where the AFP had been asked about her case, from the previous day; Her reason?;'Because I haven't'.;*

102) *a minister of the Crown appeared to refuse to fully cooperate with police in a criminal investigation, attempting to brush their queries off with a reference to Hansard; Make no mistake, this lowering of standards for ministerial conduct will be permanent.*

103) *The question of operation within the rules is still an open one. This should be looked into by the AFP. Bishop's history of self-indulgence and her blurring of the Speaker's entitlements as Speaker have done damage to the Speakership.*

104) *Bronwyn Bishop's resignation is not good enough. Now it's up to the AFP; to demonstrate that the are actually doing their job.*

105) *What a load of garbage. The worst speaker in the worst government since Federation has just resigned, pending an investigation by the AFP.*

106) *The longer Cash refuses to give a statement to the AFP, the more guilty she looks.*

107) *Actually, lying to a Senate Committee in the November 2013 hearing is contempt of Parliament. I agree call the Federal Police in on Triggs.*

108) *Mrs Bishop's actions did not pass the sniff test and now the smell about the cover up, excuses, the non-investigation by the Federal Police increases daily.*

109) *Sam to deflect from her failings and shonky non statement to the AFP.*

110) *BB paid for her helicopter fundraiser, but got away with all the rest that she dudded from the taxpayers - courtesy of the AAFP handing it back to the pro-Coalition Finance Dept.*

111) *Train Wreck Cash still saying nothing about her role in tipping off the AFP but able to shreek about the unions.*

By contrast, comments accusing male politicians of needing *AFP* referral lack evaluative adjectives relative to comments on females. They display depersonalization (*112*) where the consequence is not grammatically associated with the referent) and litotes, *(not reticent)*, which is normally associated with preservation of face for the referent (Culpeper, 1996). Two comments on Abbott (*113) even worse abuse; (114) rorts rival*) resembled more closely the female corpora in terms of vocabulary intensification and elaboration. The following three examples were the only comments largely in realis which expressed judgement of the referent in the male corpus.

112) *I suspect AFP involvement isn't far off. Brandis is not reticent to call them in for support.*

113) *you can take even worse abuse by Abbott to the AFP.*

114) *Very true, his expenses rorts rival that of Kick the Abbott. No way porcine Brandis is going to be referred to the AP*

Another difference between the corpora was the inclusion of concrete detail about legal punishment for female referents in *The Australian*. Only *FA* contained specific detail such as handcuffs, paddy wagon mostly in the presence of desiderative verbs:

115) *and the possibility of her being thrown in the back of the paddy wagon, with the handcuffs on? Hey Julia, if you are reading this, my money is on The Victorian Police Fraud Squad having a good day!*

116) *This will be the best show in town! I hope that the Victorian Fraud Squad will be sitting there, with the handcuffs at the ready!!, Sorry everyone but I feel like an excited little kid on Christmas Eve, waiting for Santa!*

117) *I sorry to be skeptical because I would love nothing better than to see Joolya in jail. So far we've heard a lot of I don't recall answers to questions.*

118) *Now will the AFP pursue her as they pursued Slipper for far less. So much material to work with. I love the smell of fraud on a Sunday arvo.*

119) *I would be delighted to be wrong about this. The thought of Joolya being convicted of fraud, or any crime for that matter, is too delicious for words.*

5.3.6 Summary of findings for 'Crime'

The female gender was found to be associated with crime at a statistically significant level as well as exhibiting a greater range of vocabulary types associated with crimes within each publication. Frequency and range of terms were larger in *FG* than *MG*, although this did not reach statistical significance. Both Key Concepts 'ethics' and 'crime' were more frequent in the two female corpora than the male corpora, reinforcing a relationship between the two concepts for appraisal, with female alleged misdemeanours being aggravated in their expression so that they were represented as crimes. *FA* exhibited the highest density of criminal terms, presenting further evidence that terms for misdemeanours were intensified for females to entail criminal activity, while for males, mitigation appeared to account for at least a proportion of the difference between crime and unethical behaviour in the male and female corpora. In comments on 'Crime', females were frequently passivated with higher levels of inscribed negativity and fewer actions overall, whether through transitive or intransitive verbs. Along with the above, the relative frequencies of verbs representing speech acts and mental and desiderative processes corresponds to Van Leeuwen's finding that the transitive actions, mental processes and desiderative are more frequently applied to powerful figures, in this case, males and commenters. Examination of verbs within comments mentioning the AFP revealed the lowest proportion of realis verbs for female referents in *The Australian* and the highest for males in *The Guardian,* reinforcing the premise that many mentions of crime by females were in fact speculative and non-factual. The absence of dubitative and conditional moods in *FA*, present in both Guardian corpora indicates an overall tendency to aggravation, presenting speculation as certainties. The presence of necessitative verbs for *FA* in this subtheme could be interpreted as an appeal to objectivity, by presenting

AFP intervention as an inevitable requirement. High levels of deontic verbs in *FA* relative to *The Guardian* corpora indicate a similar judgement by commenters, that AFP intervention is an ethical necessity.

Correspondingly, in the Key Concept 'Unemployment', agent roles were consistently lower for females than males, and undergoer roles much higher, which positioned females more frequently as receiving negative consequences for their alleged misdemeanours, such as loss of employment, this effect being again greater in *The Australian* than *The Guardian*.

Some evidence was found for more concrete detail about punishment for law breaking for females in *The Australian*: substantially higher frequency of comments about imprisonment, involvement of authorities like the *AFP* and details about criminal prosecution of females including *handcuffs* and *paddy wagon*. Use of intensifying structures at the clause and sentence level such as intensified vocabulary, more frequent use of adjectives of an intensified nature, successive elaboration across sentences (polysyndeton) and emphatic devices such as repetition may indicate a higher level of emotional response toward females and their alleged misdemeanours. Data on emotion (Chapter 4) indicates this emotion is generally negative and dominated by anger.

Both male corpora were found to contain significantly higher numbers of realis verbs, and female more irrealis. This may be the result of more frequent speculation, hypothesizing, interrogation and statement about obligations (deontic) surrounding females, while comments on males more frequently cite events to legitimize the commenter's argument through evidence. This was borne out by close examination of all clauses containing realis verbs within the subcorpora of 'crime', with such clauses characterized by factive and quantitative detail for the male corpora. In contrast, even clauses containing realis verbs in the female corpus were dominated by constructed scenarios such as gold-plated helicopters. Such differences reinforce the argument that when discussing male politicians, commenters concentrated more frequently on verifiable evidence, whereas for females, the focus was on expressing feelings and impressions. Conversely, in the subtheme of unemployment, while calls for sacking of males were lower, they were more frequently phrased deontically, without reference to an agent. For females, calls for sacking contained overall more speculative language (*could, should have, would*) and included more agents of sacking than for males.

Again, the difference in agency and stance may represent mitigation for male referents and increased examination and detail for females.

5.4　　　　Investigations

The Key Concept of 'investigation' logically accompanied the above themes in *FA*, as commenters expressed the need for police or party investigation into alleged crimes. However, while not significant in FG, tokens in this theme were significantly more frequent in *both female corpora* than *MA* (LL=19.2; LR=.69) but absent from *The Guardian* corpora. Range of types was similar for *FA* (n=30) and *MA* (n=25), however the relative frequency of those types differed considerably. Table 5.8 shows the more frequent types in *FA* and *MA*, only 2 reaching statistical significance (*FA*: *investigate* LL= 21.46; *MA*: *seek, LL=16.56).* Of note among the more frequent types in *FA* is the preponderance of formal words of investigation, as typical of legal or institutional processes (*investigate, review, patrol assess, scrutiny*) while the only such type more frequent in *MA* is *research* which suggests uncovering of information on a situation rather than an individual.

Table 5.8
*Most frequent shared types in FA and MA in the Key Concept of 'Investigation' by frequency, percentage of comments and ratio. **p<0.01*

Types of 'Investigate' more frequent in FA							
	MA	*%*	*FA*	*%*	Ratio M/F	LL	LR
investigate	1	0.02	21	0.42	20.1	21.46**	4.33
review	2	0.04	10	0.2	9.55	ns	
patrol	1	0.021	4	0.08	3.82	ns	
search	1	0.021	4	0.08	3.82	ns	
assessed	1	0.021	3	0.06	2.87	ns	
scrutiny	1	0.021	5	0.1	2.39	ns	
contemplated	1	0.021	3	0.06	1.43	ns	
survey	2	0.04	4	0.08	1.27	ns	
check	3	0.06	5	0.10	1.59	ns	
look for	5	0.1	6	0.12	1.15	ns	
Types of 'Investigate' more frequent in MA							
seek	26	0.55	5	0.1	5.2	16.56**	2.44
research	6	0.13	1	0.02	6		ns

Table 5.9 (*The Guardian*) illustrates a similar trend to *The Australian* in terms of higher frequency and an even greater range of types for 'Investigation' in FG than MG, with only *assess* reaching statistically significant difference. Range of types for males is greater than in *The Australian* indicating a similar, but more moderate tendency for wide lexical variation in this Key Concept.

Table 5.9
*Most frequent shared types in FG and MG in the Key Concept of 'Investigation' by frequency, percentage of comments and ratio. **p<0.01*

Types of 'Investigate' more frequent in FG					Ratio		
	MG	%	FG	%	F/M	LL	LR
assess	1	0.02	24	4.64	0.008	25.38	4.53**
contemplate	2	0.04	6	3.48	0.002	3.48	ns
search	1	0.021	6	3.48	0.002	3.48	ns
examine	1	0.021	5	2.9	0.002	2.9	ns
survey	1	0.021	14	2.71	0.005	2.71	ns
research	1	0.021	18	2.61	0.006	2.61	ns
investigate	1	0.021	59	2.44	0.02	2.44	ns
scrutiny	2	0.04	21	2.44	0.007	2.44	ns
feedback	3	0.06	4	2.32	0.001	2.32	ns
take a look	5	0.1	8	2.32	0.003	2.32	ns
critique			6	1.74	0.002	1.74	ns
quest			3	1.74	0.001	1.74	ns
analyse			22	1.28	0.007	1.28	ns
follow up			2	1.16	0.001	1.16	ns
Types of 'Investigate' more frequent in MG							
look	11	0.55	5	0.1		2.54	ns
surveillance	2	0.13	1	0.02	6	3.447442	ns
seek	31					1.303301	ns
check	16					1.103181	ns

Comments were also coded according to whether the referent was the agent, or the patient: that is, being investigated by others or referent as investigator. In *FA* the patient role was significantly more frequent than in *MA* (LL=18.5, LR=2.21, p<0.01) but there was no significant difference in agent roles between the two corpora. In *The Guardian,* although there was no significant difference in frequency of terms for 'Investigate', the number of patient roles for female referents was significantly greater than for male (LL=7.7, LR=0.89). In terms of variation

in types for referent as patient, range was greater for females than males (*FG*=10; *MG*=4) while there was no statistical difference in frequency or types for males and females as agents of the investigation. However, there were more tokens for formal/legal investigations in *FG* (*investigate, research assessment, scrutinise*) and fewer informal types (*browse, seek, quest*) than in *MG*.

In *The Australian*, in terms of intensifying processes and judgement, all comments on females as patients in this Key Concept were coded as intensified (n=34), while for males, only 2 out of 10 were. The examples (120- 125) demonstrate that intensification and judgement are notably more forceful in *FA* than *MA* in this theme.

FA

120) *it was a deal with the AFP. She should be* **fully** [Intensification] *investigated for* **fraud** *[Intensification], and fitted for a bespoke prison costume* [Saturation]

121) *member of the public* **still** *expects her* **theft** *to be investigated* **fully** *to* **confirm** *the quantum and to* **ensure**

122) *Sack her if she is* **incompetent** [Judgement] *or have her work under* **Scrutiny** [Intensification] *of she is not* [Saturation]*.* *I* **love** [Elaboration] *rubbing into* **bleeding** [Intensification] *heart lefties*

MA

123) **inexcusable** [Judgement] [Intensification]*, I am sure the federal police will investigate. Please read the article again, the Australian*

124) *just finished watching the Senate Committee members quizzing* [Mitigation] *Glesson and Brandis. reducing our claim to being*

125) *a* **modicum of respect** [Mitigation] *for any Australian taxpayer seeking information and answers* [Intensification] *on his actions and behavior*

In *The Guardian,* proportions of intensified comments about referents as patients were approximately equal, although such comments for females were almost double those for males. Also, two positive intensified comments were noted in *FG*.

5.4.1   Summary of Key Concept 'investigations'

The Key Concept of investigation was raised significantly more frequently in *FA* than *MA* with some evidence of a difference in register of terms, *FA* exhibiting more terms of official or legal investigation. Frequency of the concept 'Investigation' was higher for females in *The Guardian*, but did not reach significance, indicating a modest tendency for gender to evoke discussion around this concept. Both female corpora showed higher levels of patient/experiencer status than the male corpora, as well as a greater variety of types. Only *FA* showed significantly higher levels of intensification and judgement.

5.5   Key Concept 'Kin'

Comments in the Key Concept of 'Kin' were significantly more numerous for both female corpora than the male corpora (*FA*, LL:10.81, Log Ratio 0.67: *FG*. LL: 53.95, Log Ratio 0.85). All corpora revealed a strong preoccupation with the Same Sex Marriage legislation, tabled in parliament during the time of data collection, as well as concerns about politicians spending public money on family, politicians' parenting behaviours and the influence of extended family members on political success, the last being the focus of 'Kin' related comments for males. Several comments represented referents as a threat to the traditional family structure, overwhelmingly female referents, which was possibly related to same sex marriage, as will be discussed.

Comments in this Key Concept were coded into four broad themes*:* firstly, 'immediate family' (spouse and offspring), secondly 'extended family' (referent's parents and other relatives outside the nuclear family) , thirdly 'intersection of work and family' (referent's spending on family, family life affecting work) and fourthly, 'policy', which entailed politicians' stance on family-related issues (same sex marriage, paid maternity leave, divorce legislation). Two other categories, 'threat to family' and 'analogy', or use of familial terms in a metaphoric sense were analysed separately and minor categories such as 'infidelity' and 'wedding attendance' were

excluded, as they accounted for few comments and were equal in frequency between genders.

In total 395 comments were coded, with 96% agreement from a second coder. Comments regarding one female and one male referent were removed from the analysis of 'Kin': extended family' and 'Gillard' as well as 'immediate family' and 'Cormann'. Comments regarding broadcaster Alan Jones' statement about Gillard's recently deceased father, as 'dying of shame' (Aston, 2012) and Cormann's use of a chartered jet to visit his family in Perth attracted a greater share of comments than all others combined within this Key Concept and hence were removed as they each represented one event only. The Cormann incident is examined earlier in this chapter (Section 5.3) while comments regarding Jones' statement about Gillard's father were found in *The Guardian* only and unanimously condemned the broadcaster.

5.5.1   Public and Private references to family

Figure 5.6 compares the number of comments in each category for each corpus: *FA* is strongly dominated by comments about immediate family of the referent (50 comments, *n* =116) and the intersection of referent's work and family (39 comments), a pattern which is mirrored but far less extreme in *FG* at 24 and 30 (*n*=73) respectively. *MA* comments are dominated by 'Policy', followed by 'Extended Family', of which 22 comments, or 100%, represent family influence and connections, also referred to here as 'pedigree*'. MG* presents a more balanced representation across immediate and extended family, at 21 and 24 respectively (n=88), as well as policy (40 comments), while intersection of work and family is addressed in 3 comments as opposed to 0 in *MA*. The overall tendency, therefore, as shown in Figure 5.6, is for comments in *The Australian* on females to be polarised towards immediate family and its impact on work, while for males, polarity is strongly toward policy and 'pedigree'. Comments in *The Guardian* showed high similarity for males and females with a minor trend toward private aspects of the family for females and public for males.
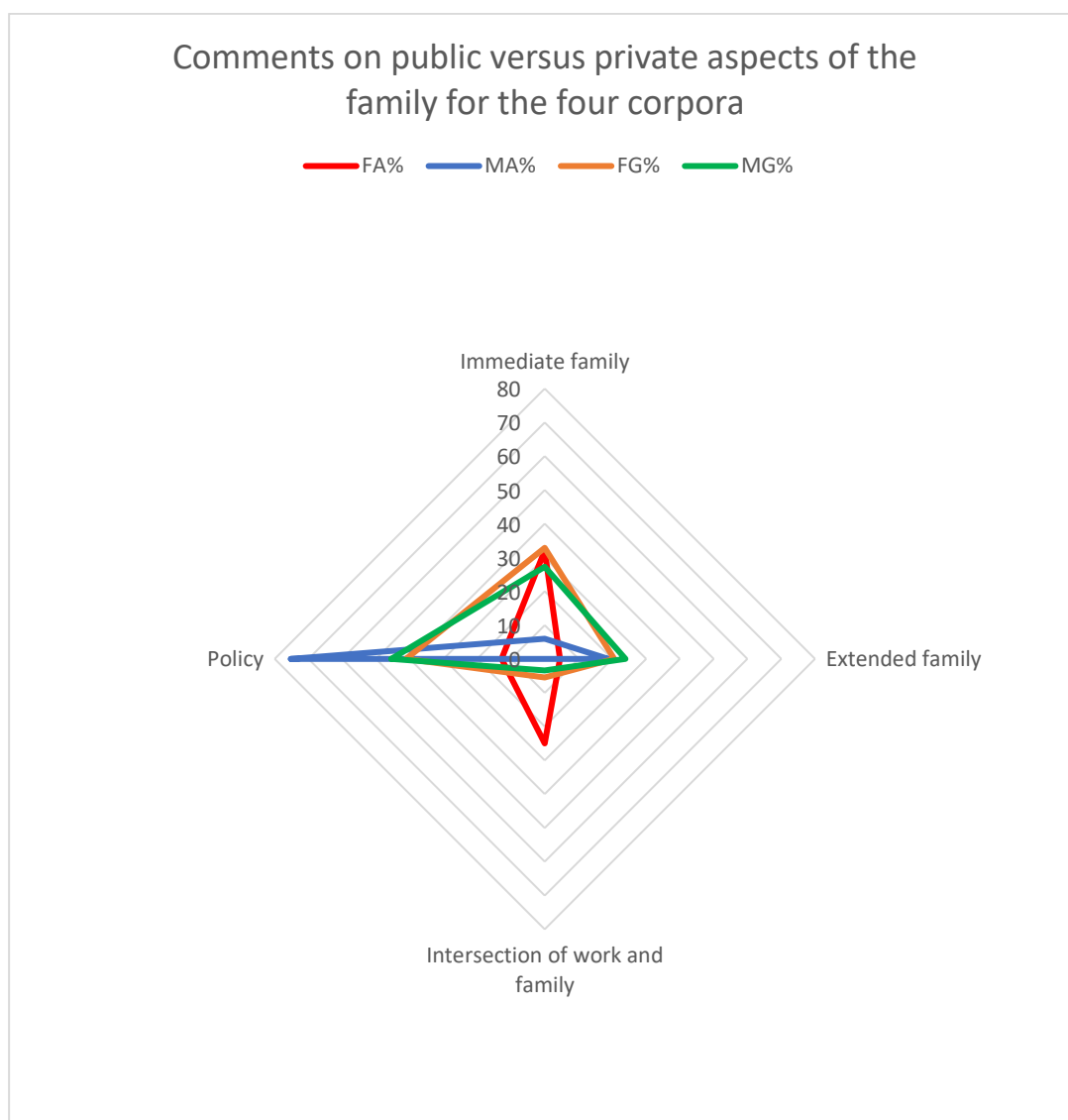
Figure 5.6
Reference to public versus private aspects of family relationships in the Key Concept of 'Kin' as percentage of the concept

5.5.2   Comments on females

For female politicians, comments on family frequently contained supposition about parenting circumstances or behaviour in the immediate family, (126-129 below).

126) *oops By the Way - who looks after her **daughter** whilst she is in Canberra or overseas (FA)*

127) *Human Rights regressing? Yes under her watch, which included her **daughter** she put away in a **dungeon**, years ago to be forgotten (FA)*

128) *hang her head in shame Triggs' third child, a daughter named Victoria, was born in 1984, profoundly disabled (FG)*

129) *she probably kicked her mother on the way out when she was born (FG).*

For example, in *FA*, 5% of all comments (n=388) in the Key Concept of 'Kin' contained *if* clauses questioning the circumstances or correctness of a female politician's action regarding their immediate family members (see 130- 133). Comments 130 and 133 compare the referent to a 'correct' model within the role of mother, thus covertly revealing her 'deficiencies', while conversely, comment 132 censures the referent for allegedly using her role as mother for political advantage.

130) ***if** the daughter was so sick then why as a **decent** mother, not pay her daughter's way to be looked after whilst she was at work? (FA)*

131) *Could the media be a bit more robust and demand through FOI to **know when the child's seat was booked** so that we can see **how that stacks up against the sickness claim**? Also **was the school informed of the absence** and, if not, **how does that appear in terms of school attendance requirements**? (FA)*

132) *If she's trying to deflect attention by playing the single **mum** victim card, (FA)*

133) *Working at Coles as a checkout chick if she was n't a politician A **mother** with such a sick child would cancel her trip (FA)*

Considerable detail was provided in recounting the female politicians' actions in regard to a child (131 above, 134 below) including strong, infused negative judgement, with references to neglect or shame on the part of the mother (128,129). As previously noted, use of public funds on personal family members was frequently commented on (130, 135,136)

134) *A **responsible** mum…would wrap her sick daughter up in front of a **warm** fire;*

135) *Is Michaelia Cash also booking her family holidays by calling the CEO of the travel company Hello World (FG)*

136) *Noone cares how she brings up her **family**. Just pay for it yourself like everyone else (FA)*

Mentions of activities of husbands were also present (137,138) although not reflected in comments on male politicians. Finally, strategic use of parental status to gain work advantage was raised in the form of the single mother card (130 above).

137) *If Tanya does become the foreign minister will she travel without her **husband** and, on a Slovenian travel document (FA)*

138) *nor that she is highly intelligent. She and her **husband** are climate change apostles(FA)*

5.5.3   Comments on Males

Comments on male politicians concentrated on historical family associations with politics (139-141) and inheritance of wealth or position (142).

139) *Not a closet Laborite. His family links are firmly in the Labor camp. (MA)*

140) *With Gleeson's relatives, he was an ALP plant,*

141) *Also announces himself as the son-in-law of former judge Gerry Brennan*

142) *Turnbull's life. When his father died, he inherited the equivalent*

Details about immediate family were typically scant (143, 144) or dealt with mixed professional / familial relationships (142).

143) *Was the fathering of an **illegitimate** child. Robert, exactly.*

144) *And changed religion after **marriage** arguably to broaden his network*

145) *(Pommie unionist. Garth's **wife**.) When Cameron was a unionist*

The theme of threat to family was explored because it was found in 60 comments, largely directed at female referents or alternatively not directed at any referent. In this theme,

comments with no referent were analysed in order to gain broader insight into commenters' judgements and concerns.

The most dominant topics within this theme were commenters' concerns regarding the future of the traditional family (*MA*:22) and evaluations of female referents as 'not family friendly (FG: 18) (see 0). *FA* comments in this theme were dominated by criticisms of bad parenting on the part of female referents (n=10), as well as two comments on the referent as not family friendly. Despite the focus in *FG* on the referent as not family friendly or supportive, only two negative comments were made on referent's parenting skills. Comments on males in either publication were almost absent in this theme, other than one comment on a male as a bad parent. However, *MA* exhibited a correspondingly high concern with the integrity of the traditional nuclear family (22 comments), above all as threatened by same-sex marriage (92 comments), and because same sex marriage laws were seen as a threat to religious freedom. The most dominant topics within this theme were commenters' concerns regarding the future of the traditional family and evaluations of female referents as 'not family friendly' (FG: n=18) (Table 5.10). *FA* comments in this theme were dominated by criticisms of bad parenting on the part of female referents (10), as well as two comments on the referent as not family friendly. Despite the focus in *FG* on referent as not family friendly or supportive, only two negative comments were found.

Table 5.10
Subtopics within the theme of 'threat to family' (Key Concept 'Kin') across the four corpora

	FA	FG	MA	MG
referent as bad parent	10	2		
Commenter pro traditional family			22	
referent assists families		1		
referent not family friendly	2	18		2
referent attacking religion			2	
TOTALS	**12**	**21**	**24**	**2**

5.5.4   Threat to Family

Comments on females, both as parents and as threats to the family exhibited high levels of judgement, both inscribed and evoked, high intensity /maximisation as well as affect, with an overall absence of mitigators/softeners. Coding for graduation features is as in previous

chapters: [Judgement], [Intensification], [Saturation], [Mitigation], [Elaboration] with details in Appendix 34, p.371).

146) *Triggs, talking about human rights regressing? Yes under her watch, which included her daughter she put away in a **dungeon*** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation]*, years ago to be **forgotten**!!!* [Saturation] *She is **one piece of evil work*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*. This **arrogance*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *and **denial** is **actually*** [Intensification] *displaying **all*** [Intensification] *the **true*** [Intensification] *characteristics of **narcissistic** syndrome* [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation]*!*

147) *Because Julia **couldn't give a toss about parents*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*; Just like she **doesn't give a crap** about marriage* [Saturation] *[because she isn't married* [Saturation]*, so why **else*** [Intensification] *should she care], she **doesn't care (2,3)** about families with children [because children* [Saturation] *aren't an issue for her. They are a **non-issue**] (2,3) The woman is an **egomaniac*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*.*

148) *No feelings for those **soon to be dead men*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *who were worried **to their graves*** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation] *about their families future.; She is a **nasty piece of work**** [Judgement] [Intensification]*.*

149) *Only to be saved, for the sake of the Country* [Saturation]*, by the loyal and faithful in the Department* [Judgement] [Saturation]*.;Bishop's **denile*** [Judgement] *of the influence of 'feminism' upon her mind, is akin to her **purporting*** [Judgement] *to know more about motherhood than mothers; Which makes her **hideously stupid*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*. (FG)*

Other forms of intensification in the above include hyperbole: *dungeon*, *soon to be dead men* *hideously* and *evil.* Notably, all statements are presented as proclamations, with strong commitment to their conclusions.

In contrast, there were only two comments regarding males as a threat to the nuclear family. These included softeners in the form of uncertainty (*perhaps*) (150) and minimisers (*something just not right*) (151). Further, while the response to female threats to family entail inscribed labelling of them as psychologically unstable (*narcissistic syndrome; egomaniac*), in

the case of the male in (151), these are mitigated by evocation rather than inscription, and an affectual expression of sympathy for his family. Further, obligation is expressed as *need* (151), denoting situational constraints, rather than the male referent's obligation. The final clause *if this is the case* (151) introduces epistemic uncertainty and thus avoids accusation.

150) *The **sooner the better** [Intensification] perhaps he will be able to own **more** [Intensification] racing horses overseas - that is **all** this man cares - not **any one** [Intensification] or his immediate family/children. (MG)*

151) *He need* to seek medical advice because there something just not right [Mitigation] going on inside. No sarcasm intended! **Sad** [Mitigation] for the man and his family if this is the case [Mitigation]. (MG)*

Comments on same-sex marriage display a high level of intensification, albeit arguably less extreme than that of comments on female referents. The most extreme indicates a departure from reality akin to conspiracy theorising (152) and contains high saturation and intensification as found in comments on female money spending. However, it confines itself to speculating on policy and ideals, rather than personal / interpersonal issues surrounding the male referent.

152) *This is a U.N. play to **destroy the church and family (1,2,5). The two strongest pillars** [Judgement] [Intensification] **of Western democratic freedom** [Judgement] [Intensification]. This why they are **deliberately** [Intensification] brining **Islam** here too. These people know [Judgement] it is **incompatible** [Intensification] with **Judeo-Christianity**. There are **no accidents** here [Saturation]. All **planned** [Saturation]. He **knows they all know** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation]. (MA)*

More representative of comments on threats to family, the following (153) does not mention a referent but is dominated by intensification and saturation in the form of lists of adjectives with inscribed judgement and repetitive paraphrasing. Arguably, affect, while not inscribed, is strongly evoked through the reference to legal control of parental rights, rather than *natural* parenting rights.

153) *In the **absence** [Intensification] of the **natural** [Intensification] family, there can only be* ***shallow, superficial, parent-indulging legal*** *[Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation]* *parenthood, with **the State deciding** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation] between* *the various parties to the child's birth and custody. This **discarding** of the **natural** for the* **legal** *will apply to* <u>all</u> *subsequent marriages, even of men and women [Saturation], with* *the natural having **no real meaning** [Judgement] [Intensification] in law [Saturation].* **(MA)**

5.5.5   Family as Metaphor

Overall, metaphoric use of familial terms was notably more prominent in the male than the female corpora (M:21 comments, F: 5) and tended to represent males with both greater and lesser familial status than females. In the five female examples, Gillard was presented twice as a *daughter, firstly of* Thatcher (*FG*) and as the *daughter* of a commenter (*FG*), the latter to underline the maltreatment she received as PM, and twice as *bride/bridesmaid* as discussed below. She was also represented as the wronged sister of Penny Wong, the Labor leader in the Senate, for the latter's evident lack of support when Gillard lost prime ministership (153). This comment is dominated by negative judgement, using intensified language and emphatic sentence structure (not only/ also). The rare use of the metaphor sister may have been inscribed here to emphasise the gravity of Wong's claimed disloyalty.

153) *She was a **failed** [Judgement] [Intensification] financial minister under Gillard, who **not*** ***only (2, 3)*** *got her own government to leave **such big debt** <u>and</u> **deficit** [Judgement]* *[Intensification], she **also** [Saturation] got the then opposition's budget number* <u>so</u> **wrong** *[Judgement] [Intensification] ; What were her achievements you are **so full** of* **admiration** *[Judgement] [Intensification] for?;She **didn't even** [Intensification] have the* **courage***[Judgement] and **solidarity** [Intensification] to side with her **comrade sister*** *[Judgement] [Intensification] Julia Gillard when she was **toppled** [Intensification] by* *Rudd.*

A similar comment on a male referent is also dominated by negative judgement, but rather than intensified inscription, the referent is described as lacking positive qualities relative to

another (154). The comment finishes with a single intensifying word, about how great their personal differences are.

154) *With his name and his German accent and his loudness* [Saturation]*, he could **double as a brother of Arnie,** with the difference that Arnie is **good looking** and has a **physique** [Judgement] and **intelligent** [Judgement] and he for the environment and believes in climate change.   there is a **vast difference** [Judgement] [Intensification] between them.(MG).*

Of the 21 incidences of metaphor for males: four represented the male PM as father to the party; one as uncle to another minister, two as brother to another minister of similar political leanings; one as brother, described above, and two as *mummy's boys,* because of their support of a senior female politician. One politician who supported gay marriage against the broader opinion of his party was represented variously as *bridesmaid* (x2) *bride* and *wife*. In one comment, a male politician was represented metaphorically as an *abusive husband* due to his policies and actions taken in parliament.

An interesting comparison can be made of the saying 'Always the bridesmaid, never the bride, which was employed equally to refer to male and female referents. In (155), representing the male referent as a bridesmaid may be a form of inscribed negative judgement, placing him in a female role. However, it is followed by direct address, including a question indicating direct engagement with referent in an informal tone. There is an overall scarcity of intensification, repetition and saturation. In the case of (156) the first sentence lacks overall intensification and hyperbole, while the second contains a strongly negative metaphor, and the last sentence elaborates on the representation of 'forever the bridesmaid' with personal, experiential detail and a maximiser *(no-one)*. The female referent in (157) is represented with inscribed metaphor and as having negative feelings toward those more successful than herself, expressed using an emphatic cleft structure *and doesn't she show* as well as the intensified *loathing*.

155) *Always the bridesmaid never the bride Albo. Come on Anthony. Do you think you are a **credible** [Judgement] alternative to PM? (MA)*

156) *I think her days as deputy are numbered* [Judgement]. *Reports are she is* <u>*more*</u> **disliked** *than* **turds** [Judgement] [Intensification]. *Forever the bridesmaid.* **No one** [Intensification] *will ever toss her the bouquet* [Saturation] *(FG)*

157) *Bishop* **not a leader's bootlace** [Judgement] [Intensification]. *Always the bridesmaid never the bride. And doesn't she show her* **loathing** [Judgement] [Intensification] *for those women who have managed to achieve what she cannot* [Saturation].

5.5.6   Extended Family

Although overall numbers of comments on extended family were similar for males and females, thematic examination reveals that extended or birth families were largely mentioned for females in terms of their own parenting experiences, or their own experiences of growing up. In (158) female referent is addressed directly and constructed as resistant to advice; while in (159) the commenter conveys by implication that he represents her fathers' generation. (160-162) represent the referent through her experiences as a child and the influence of her parents.

158) *is anything politicians can't get away with. Young parents needed advice,* **not you SHY**. **You wo n't be lectured to** [Saturation] *(FA)*

159) *Hanson Young was born in 1981, how old would that make her father, today, and would she use the same words to describe him? (FA)*

160) *She* <u>*never*</u> [Intensification] *had to* **take responsibility** [Judgement] *for any action and was* <u>*always*</u> [Intensification] *believed or excused. Mum and Dad* **named her well for such a princess** [Intensification]*! (FG)*

161) *No, her parents* **really** *thought she would be a boy which is why she was* **stuck** [Judgement] [Intensification] *with boy's name plus a couple of letters.*

162) *She came as an immigrant, with her parents, when she was a child,*

Two comments briefly mentioned pedigree for females, but in generic terms and lacking detail about the family members referred to, or the nature of the relationship (163-164):

163) *if she is born into the right dynasty or is a* **puppet** [Judgement] *for that dynasty* [Saturation]

164) *She had 'friends' and family to get the No 2 position.*

Comments for males on the topic of 'extended family' were, by contrast, exclusively about 'pedigree' and not only more numerous, but richer in detail about connections in family (*father-in-law; judge Gerry Brennan*, religious (*Catholic*)and school (*Xavier, Duntroon*) (165-170):

165) *isnt <u>a patch on</u>* [Judgement] *his father… But Daddy put him thru Duntroon (MA)*

166) *As you describe, Mr Gleeson has* **impeccable 'insider' connections** [Judgement] [Intensification]*.* **Just the thing** [Judgement] *the nation yearns for. (MA)*

167) *agendas …* **not another one!** *!* [Intensification] *Is n't one of the ex-Justices (Brennan) his Father-in-law. (MA)*

168) *a Catholic at Xavier and changed religion after marriage arguably* [Mitigation] *to broaden his network and influence. (MG)*

169) *judgement in this matter alone* **says it all** [Intensification]*. With a pedigree* [Intensification] *like Gleeson 's it would be* **impossible** [Intensification] *to supply (MA)*

170) *and Tony Burke. he also announces himself* [Judgement] *as the son-in-law of former judge Gerry Brennan. (MA)*

In *The Guardian,* continuity of concepts of money, albeit with smaller effect, strongly support monetary issues as a major concern among commenters regarding female referents. Place and Geography appear to reflect concerns over use of travel allowances and overall movements of female referents, which was also an issue for commenters in *FA*. Social Actions and People is consistent with personalisation of female leaders (Trimble et al., 2013).

5.6   Clothing as subtheme

5.6.1   Background

Clothing as a Key Concept was of interest, given its prominence worldwide in studies of representation of female political leaders by the media (Ross, 2014; Trimble, 2016, 2017; Lakoff, 2003; Markstedt, 2007; Mavin et al., 2010; Vasvari, 2013; Huang, 2015; Formato, 2018; Johnson, 2015; Luecht, 2016; Donaghue, 2013; Fountaine & McGregor, 2002; Hayes et al., 2014; Sanghvi & Hodges, 2015). This Key Concept arose quite frequently, although it was mostly distributed evenly across the four corpora, except for FG, in which it was markedly more frequent.

Subthemes in this Key Concept revealed liberal use of standard idioms and metaphors about clothing, within which different treatment by gender was difficult to discern. Examples are *put in the boot*, *results in the bag*, *hand in glove*.

A complicating aspect of analysing 'clothing' is that several events took place in parliament during the five years of data collected which gave rise to tropes about clothing, including a comment by the then Prime Minister Gillard that certain more conservative members of the Coalition could be identified by their *blue ties*. Further, an incident occurred in parliament in which a female senator of the minor, right wing party 'One Nation' wore a burqa into parliament, reportedly to demonstrate that this garment presented a security risk presented to parliamentarians. The senator was then publicly rebuked by the then Attorney General and leader of the senate, George Brandis, one of the politicians under study in this research. This *stunt*, as many commenters described it, resulted in 28 comments on one thread, half of whom supported Brandis' actions, and half of whom criticised them, largely on religious and ethnic grounds. Another important clothing theme was that of 'knitting' totalling 41 comments, which arose when a newspaper story reported on the then Prime Minister Gillard knitting a stuffed kangaroo as a present for the expected royal baby, with many opining that knitting was inconsistent with her prime ministerial role despite or even because it was traditional female pastime. *Budgie smugglers*, referred to public reaction to the brief swimming trunks worn by the then Prime Minister Abbott in a televised life-saving event. Again, this was only mentioned in *The Australian* corpora, and attracted equal support and

condemnation from commenters. Also, the term *handbag hit squad* was widely applied to the female members of the ALP shadow cabinet. The final three subthemes above are potentially revealing about gender construction and will be examined below, along with more prominent themes arising in this data: 'privilege', 'manner', 'political/ideological affiliations' and 'gender role transgression'.

5.6.2   Findings on Clothing and Privilege

While overall numbers of clothing terms were almost identical in *The Australian* (*FA*: n=142; *MA*: n=147), difference between FG and *MG* were highly significant (LL=35.41; LR=.67). The largest difference was in the subtheme 'privilege'. Comments with this theme were noted in all corpora except *MA*. FG contained 71 comments in this theme, and the other corpora, four or fewer, yielding a LL of 58.72 and LR 3.15 between males and females for *The Guardian*. Line by line examination of this Key Concept indeed reveals an interest in and judgement of female referents' dress and appearance. Much of the commentary on clothing is negative, expressing disapproval of expensive and exclusive clothing and largely directed toward two Coalition politicians, Cash and Bishop. Given that *The Guardian* has a more left-centrist political focus, it is possible that more traditional forms of gender discrimination are tolerated where the referent is strongly disapproved of. It is also possible that disapproval arose from less traditionalist commenters who reacted to the female referents' attention to clothing, which they associated with more traditional gender stereotypes.

Comments on female referents in this subtheme included detail about designer labels and symbols of wealth. This specification of designer brands for females, accompanied with pastimes associated with excess such as *solarium, BF escort, excessive exercise* (172), *pearl earrings* (176) again indicate a theme of entitlement and exclusivity. This is accompanied by trivialisation: *designer life jacket* (177)*; called it a day* (176).

171) *Come on Julia Pull the **gloves** back on (velvet). Australia needs you*

172) *So vain. Obsessed with herself, Botok, excessive exercise; Designers **cloths**, solarium BF escort. She makes Camilla Parker Bowle looks; Beautifull*

173) proved herself worthy of anthing except jogging and **wearing** donated stuff from the big end of town

174) her voice through self interest and an awesome **dress**. Im sure shell hang in- leader of the opposition

175) model herself on Bishop but cant afford the **clothes** or the hairdresser. Julie Bishop ; (@JulieBishop

176) So the ex minister for **fashion, filmstars** and **foreign affairs** has taken off her **pearl earrings** and called it a day.

177) JBishop deserting a sinking ship.;Does she have a designer life **jacket**?

A second prominent theme was one of the referent as more suited to the fashion industry than politics:

178) (She has this thing for **shoes, earrings** and coiffure. ;

179) think I hear Network 10 offering JBishop a job as **fashion reporter**. Penny Wong seems to disagree.

180) In tow to make up for it. She may even do another **fashion shoot**. Hard to tell. That is her dafault setting

181) than Julia Gillard ever did. She 's a **political clothes horse** as full of piss and wind as any of her dreadful

Other comments associated interest in fashion with frivolity and incompetence, judging this as inappropriate in politics:

182) (I do nt think its necessary to get **dressed up** in designer clothing and borrow clothing and make-up

183) (fashion shoot as Julia Gillard did the other day, with **clothes by Carla Zampatti, jewellery by ... hair by ... ?**

184) In her **Barbie Doll shoes**, such a ; Voice for women ! ! !...

185) (as nothing to offer but please take yr **bloody red shoes** with you - &; I do hope the cramp your style !

186) Cockroach what are we expected to call the **high heeled** insult to our intelligence.

187) ' bullshit, I do nt. She was incompetent Gucci **bag** carrying bureaucrat, she had her share of travel

A final prominent subtheme was that of violence or cruelty associated with wearing of high fashion:

188) Julia Gillard appreciated **Madam Mesothelioma's fashion advice** back in the day. It really is laughable

189) she is nothing but **viper in designer clothes**. Maybe Julie Bishop should pluck up the courage

190) Julie and Julia will both readiky **put their heels on the neck of the poor**,

191) Is that **a stiletto in her Faberge clutch bag** ?

5.6.3 Intensified reactions to fashion and females

Comments about clothing and exclusivity are also characterised by saturation in the form of multiple adjectives (193-194) and unrealistic descriptors (195) while associations with corruption or avarice are stated in comment (196).

192) She was an incompetent **gucci bag** carrying bureaucrat,

193) the rich feel of her **designer attire** and her jewels though

194) excessive exercise ; **Designers cloths**, solarium BF escort.

195) Does she have a designer **life jacket** ? (FG)

196) instead of Gucci for the day, and a **skirt** with big pockets for the wads of cash (FA)

The only example in this subtheme on male referents generally lacks detail of the clothing, but judges directly what is inferred about the referent:

*197)   preening, narcissistic empty **suit**. His legislative record consists of*

Detail on design and exclusivity are similarly lacking in comments to *The Australian* about one male referent's preferred attire, but rather appraise the attributes of the individual as indicated by his clothing, reflective of the example above. The following were classified as 'style' rather than privilege since there is not a clear association with wealth and exclusivity.

*198)   Turnbull, laid back, in a **leather jacket** looking so cool. Your so kind*

*199) Enough to put up with the brown **leather jacket** poncing around on Q and A*

*200) . But, the **leather jacket** man has adopted his manifasto*

Both male and female excerpts above exhibit aggravation in the form of intensified adjectives, more prevalent in fact for males *laid back, cool, poncing, preening, narcissistic* (*m*).

Gender role transgression through clothing was a subtheme found only in *The Australian* and in eight comments only. It described males as adopting female dress or the inverse. There is a repeated association here with femininity and weakness when applied to males: (201) *over the top, weepy*, (204)*, she (for a male);* (205) *coloured nightwear;* (206), *cute* as well as trivialisation of males through use of lexicon from fashion: (208) *topped off, donning.*

*201) His over the top, weepy big girls **blouse** reaction to Hanson wearing a burqa (MA)*

*202) What about girls in boys **clothes**. Oh that's Penny Wong (MA).*

*203) [he is] another Triggs in a different **dress**. Both think they are above not (MA)*

*204) when she return to the senate **wearing** a bridal costume. (referring to male referent, MA)*

*205) ; of his own style of coloured **nightwear** ? You never know he could even (MA)*

*206) f in cute pantomime woman 's **clothing**. I voted for MAN then watched (MA)*

*207) e amazing PR if MAN put on an **apron** and took a turn at playing (MG)*

*208) topped off by his donning of **high heels** for some event I ca n't even remember (MA)*

Another theme found only in *The Australian* was that of 'Handbag hit squad' which described the female members of the ALP shadow cabinet.

*209) and make a meal out of the **Handbag** hit squad 's carry on. When the*

*210) public drama of it ? Where 's the **handbag** hit brigade ? ? ? Mark Hiding behind*

*211) of Labor. Not a word from the **handbag** hit squad though. Deafening silence*

*212) you telling Gillard and the **Handbag** Hit Squad to toughen up. Peter*

*213) a good point. Where is the **hand-bag** brigade ? They 'll complain about*

Comments on the handbag hit squad are characterised by intensification at the word level: *drama, deafening*, toughen up; as well as trivialisation: *make a meal; carry on, complain*, as distinct from verbs that reflect their professional role such as *object (V)* or *oppose*.

Comments on knitting by Prime Minister, Julia Gillard were confined to *The Guardian,* and demonstrated considerable support and approval from commenters (16 out of 25 comments). The remainder of comments largely argued that knitting was not an appropriate activity for a Prime Minister.

5.6.4   Summary of Key Concept 'Clothing'

Comments on clothing reveal a persistence of traditional gender stereotypes, albeit less frequent than reported in previous literature. Topoi around clothing and appearance for female referents include wealth and privilege, frivolity but also violence and cruelty as well as metaphors of war and battle. Detailed information about exclusive clothing indicates a strong emotional reaction among commenters to this aspect of the female referents, and while judgemental lexicon also indicates contempt for fashion consciousness among males, comments are considerably fewer and lack elaboration and descriptive detail. Similarly, female clothing applied to males is used several times in both publications as a judgement of weakness or incompetence and frequently contains intensifying detail. Only one comment is noted on a female referent whose attire is described by the commenter as masculine, but

judgement is implicit, if not absent, indicating no loss of status. Comments about the 'handbag hit squad' trivialise the referents by representing them with a weapon which is not only traditionally female but also relatively ineffective, as do the judgements within these comments, expressed in what Martin and White (2005) term 'weakening'.

5.6.5 Discussion of findings in the Key Concept of 'Clothing'

The focus on clothing and appearance reported in earlier literature, while still present, appears far less prominent than in the past. This may reflect commenter awareness that certain gender-based arguments were publicly identified as discriminatory, especially during the Gillard Prime Ministership, where media and public discussion explored and condemned explicitly gender-based discrimination in political commentary (Donaghue, 2013; Doran, 2015; Freedman, 2010; Goodall, 2013; Liswood, 2010). It is not possible to determine whether this shift reflects an attitude change, or instead, a desire to avoid presenting an argument which has been publicly condemned and therefore, readily attacked. That there was considerable public discussion around appearance and dress of PM Gillard in her time in office may explain its scarcity in these samples from *The Australian*. Meanwhile the dominance of *The Guardian* in such comments may reflect a failure to suppress sexism when commenting on a disliked female referent.

The results for the two publications are contradictory and surprising: *The Australian* exhibits substantial use of a femininity trope to judge and degrade males but contains little commentary on female dress and appearance, a feature of media representation of female politicians since 1872, at least in the USA (Falk, 2008). Meanwhile, use of tropes of femininity to degrade males is absent from *The Guardian*, but dress is a prominent meme in criticism of females. Notably, comments within this subtheme are universally negative in their evaluation, indicating that, rather than reflecting an interest in the appearance of female politicians, it is based on fundamental disapproval. Whether this attitude also reflects a form of gender discrimination: rejecting a long-standing association with femaleness, can only be speculated on. The negativity also extends to representations of male referents in *The Guardian*, but as noted, provokes less emotion, further indicating that gender has an important role in the commenters' reactions. This is consistent with the findings of Trimble et al., (2013) who compared multiple biographic factors in the representation of politicians and found that

personalisation, or interest in appearance, family, and the private person, correlated most strongly with femaleness. The theme of disapproval or devaluation of traditional female values is further discussed in Chapter 6.

Another explanation for the negativity around female referents' clothing is social class and values differences, as readers of *The Australian* may have less if any objection to wearing of expensive clothing, while for Guardian readers, designer outfits represent privilege. The lack of comments in *The Guardian* around female referents spending of public funds, relative to expensive dress may reflect different perceptions; in which female referents are not seen as outsiders in government spending, but are deprecated for displays of wealth in their personal lives. Stein, (2008) reported a similar phenomenon in the 2008 US election in vociferous public commentary by Democrats voters around the expense of Sarah Palin's clothing. The intensity of the reaction to female dress in *The Guardian* in terms of intensified vocabulary and saturation is however of note and indicates that certain values regarding wealth may be privileged over gender-based discrimination among many Guardian commenters.

Metaphors of violence, danger *(viper, snake)* and war applied to female referents in *The Guardian* again represent female politicians as a threat to order; to some extent analogous to the themes of money misuse applied to female politicians in *The Australian.* Joshi et al., (2020) discuss that reference to female politicians' appearance and clothing represents them as 'Violators' by bringing an inappropriate element into a male domain. Van Dijk, (2016) within the broader topic of discrimination, by contrast, posits that outsiders are usually characterised within discourse as a 'Threat' and their distinctive behaviours or features are exaggerated or associated with socially destructive forces and moral degradation.

5.7   Conclusion

The greater incidence and variety of comments on misuse of money in the female corpora, appear to correspond with more frequent crime terms in *FA*, which overall presents as more extreme than the other corpora. Comparing the Key Concept of 'crime' with that of 'lack of ethics' reveals that increases in frequency of the former correspond with decreases in frequency of the latter in the female corpora, while the reverse is true for the male corpora, which is of consequence if unethical behaviour is viewed on a continuum with crime. Both

crime and money Key Concepts were expressed with high levels of inscribed and invoked intensification reflecting strength of attitude toward these concepts and those associated with them, greater in each female corpus than the corresponding male corpus. Relative lack of intensification was likewise found in comments about crime and ethics on males. The topic of imprisonment was raised far more frequently in relation to female referents, and the topic of unemployment/sacking was of higher frequency in the female corpora. Correspondingly, the frequency of comments under the Key Concept of 'Investigation' was greater for females in *The Australian* although not for *The Guardian*. Vocabulary analysis revealed many more items in the domain of criminal or official investigation for females, while for males, vocabulary was in the less specialised field of 'seeking'.

Comments within the Key Concept of 'Kin' reflected traditional gender roles at all levels from real to metaphorical. That comments in *MA* focused on family policy and extended family ties in politics suggested a public role for males as decision makers and representative of a ruling social cohort. In contrast, the more prominent focus overall for females, especially extreme in *The Australian*, was that of caregivers, with a prominent concern for their caregiving status on their role as political leaders. While the aforementioned was not prominent in *The Guardian*, females in both publications were more frequently represented as a threat to the family, whether through non-traditional family arrangements, childlessness or alleged neglect/abuse of their offspring. These comments were expressed with high, negative intensification, indicating strong commenter reaction.

Comments on clothing exhibit some gendered mediation although considerably less than reported in the literature of the 2010s. Comment on female clothing was largely absent in *The Australian* but used by several commenters to feminise and degrade male politicians. This suggests a possible adherence to 'politically correct' themes, a topic raised often by commenters to *The Australian*, who complained that it limited their ability to express true opinions. The term 'political correctness' suggests conformity to a series of rules rather than, as others would interpret, strategies to as avoid discourse which may offend or exclude social cohorts. Thus, the use of the term suggest skepticism by these commentators, in line with van Dijk's, (2016) observation that 'political correctness' often serves as a 'window dressing'. Discriminatory attitudes are frequently expressed by members of the public with disclaimers

and permitted terms to avoid listeners/readers easily finding fault. However, this is grounds for optimism as it may reflect the success of previous complaints by female politicians and their supporters concerning, for example, the widespread public condemnation of sexism directed at Gillard.

Meanwhile no such concern was shown in for comments on females in *The Guardian*, where clothing, like money and 'Kin' in *The Australian,* was associated with violence, frivolity and unethical conduct. This may represent disapproval of display of traditional female values by women and association of fashion with conservatism or reactionary social values. It may also reflect differing standards of moderation between the two newspapers. It is possible that arguments raised in the press against gender-based discrimination during the Gillard Prime Ministership resulted in commenters avoiding superficial manifestations of gender discrimination which can easily be challenged by other commenters.

Overall, the results in this chapter support the notion of persistence of traditional gender roles, more powerful in *The Australian* but nonetheless residual in *The Guardian*. Money was largely cast as belonging to the male domain, and female use of money as likely to result from suspect motivations. A double standard is present in the stronger condemnation of females for alleged misuse of funds, with calls for extreme penalties including sacking and criminal prosecution. However, the notable presence of hyperbole and fantastic stories in comments about female use of money cast doubt on the reality of these commenter concerns, possibly based on their perceptions of appropriate gender roles. The similar traditionalist tendency regarding referents' relation to the family further supports the conclusion that substantial sections of this public are concerned by the blurring of gender boundaries that has taken place as women entered governance, and possibly other traditionally male dominated areas. In contrast, comments on 'Clothing' in *The Guardian* possibly reflect a negative reaction to display of traditional gender stereotypes but nonetheless represent gender mediated discrimination. While this chapter undertook linguistic analyses at the level of individual comments, it primarily established the existence of different broad themes, expressed in Key Concepts, for males and females. It demonstrated that these themes had a highly evaluative function, providing opportunities to present female politicians in a negative light in ways that

questioned their legitimacy in their working role. Meanwhile for males, there was an equal tendency to limit discussion to activities relevant to carrying out their role.

The next chapter (6) will more closely examine the use of devices or strategies such as graduation through intensification and mitigation, both at the level of Key Concepts and through various linguistic devices, such as presupposition, or as evident in parts of speech.

CHAPTER 6   Results 3: Morally compromised or mere mortals?

6.1   Introduction

The last chapter explored some important Key Concepts which differentiated the male from the female corpora, namely various Key Concepts in the topics of money, crime and ethics and family relations, where strong differences were seen between the representation of male and female referents in terms of argumentation, narrative exaggeration, lexical intensification and negative judgement.

This chapter deals with the issue of aggravation and mitigation through those themes or parts of speech in which they are most clearly illustrated. Parts of speech and linguistic functions examined include adjectives and *if* clauses and counterfactuals as well as expression of obligation for each gender. Themes of interest arising include the theme of 'sexism', prominent in the Female Guardian Corpus and 'alcohol use and misuse', prominent in the male corpora, and especially in the Male Australian Corpus.

The chapter highlights the stronger presence of mitigation in the male corpora, along with the greater intensity and negative judgement in the female corpora. When these findings are contrasted with the widespread lack of understanding or acceptance by commenters of possible difficulties experienced by female referents in their role, a lack of awareness of implicit sexism is highlighted. Discrimination, which is gender mediated, but not evidently gender-based, appears to be widely overlooked allowing persistence of different standards in social esteem and social sanction for males and females.

6.2   Adjectives, Collocations and Graduation.

Adjectives were examined closely for all corpora, firstly because adjectives are high in evaluative content, which is frequently inscribed (Martin & White, 2005, p.53) and secondly, because the frequency of adjectives was significantly higher in both female corpora relative to male, indicating possibly higher evaluative or descriptive content. This was true for

percentages of the total corpora, the difference being far greater for *The Guardian*. (*FA*=8182, *MA*=7785; LL=6.95, Odds ratio 1.04, p <.05) (*FG*=20593, *MG*=11339; LL=.20.4, Odds Ratio 1.06 p<.05).

Large numbers of adjectives were noted in the Wmatrix-generated list of collocations, and it was decided to examine adjectives as applied to the referents because the close and demonstrable attraction between two-word collocates can reveal close associations of qualities with the person or mor generally, their gender. In order to control the differences between different referents and reveal only those adjectives which collocated significantly with maleness or femaleness, the corpora were gender marked. By that it is meant that all instances of a referent and any pronouns were replaced with the words *man* or *woman*. To calculate significance of collocations, Wmatrix supplies among other statistical measures, a Mutual Information (MI) score, outlined in chapter 5 (p. 177). Other statistical measures of collocation such as Simple Matching Coefficient tend to yield results close to overall relative frequency, while MI favours uniqueness among high scoring collocates, thereby suppressing results such as common grammatical collocations. It also provides a more finely graded score of the relative strength of collocations than, for example, the Yule Coefficient.

The 20 most highly collocated adjectives for each corpus are presented in Table 6.1 below. These twenty were chosen because after mutual information scores fell sharply to one or below after approximately the twentieth item in each list. As noted earlier, all collocations without *man* or *woman* were excluded along with collocations that represented quotes from referents by commenters. The lists were then tagged for part of speech and all collocating adjectives identified. Many of the MI scores in the top 20 collocations listed below are lower than the statistically significant level of 3 but are included because they yield interesting information about gender, as will be explored.

Table 6.1

Adjectives collocating with 'man' and 'woman' with the highest Mutual Information (MI) Scores for each corpus

FA	MI	Freq	FG	MI	Freq	MA	MA MI	Freq	MG	MG MI	Freq
vile	8.01	5	intelligent	5.67	19	decent	7.47	10	Sad	7.8	7
difficult	5.6	8	powerful	5.59	5	drunk	5.65	58	evil	6.05	10
evasive	4.61	5	churlish	4.74	2	first	4.36	75	powerful	5.74	8
deafening	4.61	2	Australian	3.41	62	TRUE	3.42	37	Toxic	4.85	9
blatant	4.61	5	earlier	3.1	12	next	3.2	36	gay	4.71	12
professional	4.61	21	careful	3.08	9	public	3.15	52	answerable	4.62	5
rorting	4.35	11	glad	3	11	Prime	3.05	29	little	4.33	38
screaming	4.13	11	hopeless	3	10	legal	2.82	29	great	3.77	44
intelligent	3.93	9	unpopular	2.98	5	quick	2.81	6	disastrous	3.68	7
personal	3.55	14	Liberal	2.89	30	statutory	2.76	15	inevitable	3.36	5
serial	3.44	6	best	2.43	20	Liberal	2.72	48	gutless	3.29	7
common	3.44	10	able	2.37	8	asleep	2.69	18	Poor	2.9	25
partisan	3.29	11	dead	2.33	11	honest	2.67	13	good	2.7	130
misguided	3.29	18	longer	2.1	8	politicised	2.64	4	former	2.15	22
entitled	3.13	22	great	2.07	51	total	2.62	9	big	2.02	30
worried	3.03	9	disgusting	2.07	6	far	2.6	25	high	1.97	27
massive	3.03	8	proud	2.06	9	aware	2.48	8	stupid	1.79	13
sick	2.88	32	smart	2.06	5	sober	2.46	11	less	1.5	20
disgraceful	2.8	10	worst	2.03	14	longer	2.38	11	legal	1.46	42
interesting	2.8	11	entitled	2.03	15	entitled	2.33	13	general	1.43	63

Adjectives with inscribed, or intrinsic judgement (Martin & White, 2005), dominated the 20 most frequent collocations in both female corpora but not male (*FA*, n=12; *FG* n=9; *MA* n=2; *MG* n=6). For *FA* nearly all inscribed judgement was negative, as in *vile, disgraceful, deafening, blatant, rorting, screaming, serial, misguided, entitled, difficult, evasive.* It is also of note that 17 (85%) of the adjectival collocations for *FA* had an MI above 3, while for the other corpora the number of significant collocations was 50% or below. This indicates a high level of recurrence of specific adjectives with females in *FA* and may reflect greater generalisation or stereotyping.

A common theme in negative evaluations in adjectives in *FA* is arguably one of noticeability or excess (*deafening, blatant, screaming, serial* (as in *serial rorter), entitled*); the remaining negative evaluations suggest that the referent is morally repellent (*vile, disgraceful, disgusting, sick*) while *misguided* may reflect an evaluation of lack of agency, since the referent is 'guided' by another. Inscribed negative evaluations for *FG* were *churlish, hopeless, unpopular, disgusting, worst, entitled,* which do not appear to present a common theme. One possible explanation for this is that the negative evaluations accept individual differences, rather than generalising or stereotyping.

The positive evaluations in *FA* were *intelligent, (*examples 1-17*) professional (*18-22, and *interesting*. Examination of concordances revealed that for *intelligent*, use of litotes rendered these evaluations negative in 5 out of 6 examples, (2) being the only positive comment:

1) *nor that WOMAN is highly **intelligent**. WOMAN and WOMAN husband are*

2) *made ; sense, WOMAN is highly **intelligent**., can sell a policy to the public*

3) *WOMAN is not **intelligent** and was a disaster for the state*

4) *memory for someone supposedly so **intelligent**. Clearly WOMAN has done wrong*

5) *Therese She's not nearly as **intelligent** as WOMAN*

6) *since WOMAN adds nothing to **intelligent** discussion. You mean MAN should*

In *FG*, the word *intelligent* was true to that evaluation in 19 cases out of 22. These comments were selected to represent the range of female referents receiving this evaluation.

7) *WOMAN has been an **intelligent,** cogent and brave leader but accomplished and far more*

8) *A lovely lady ! Ditto that, she is an **intelligent,** insperational, dependable warm*

9) *Australian has ever had. Champion of females. **intelligent,** smart, brutally honest. ; DUMPED by her own party.*

10) WOMAN *came across as extremely warm, witty and **intelligent** in the interview.*

11) WOMAN *MP will be missed as a politician as she is very **intelligent** and is an exemplary diplomat.*

12) *. ; WOMAN is a National Treasure. An **intelligent** woman who had the strength to withstand the appalling*

13) *, I like WOMAN, a very bright **intelligent** young woman, and her remarks were spot on. Penny*

14) *. It ai nt a white Anglo Saxon male. It is an **intelligent** change embracing female of Asian descent.*

While overall frequencies of words within the Key Concept of intelligence/unintelligence are similar for all corpora, at approximately .01% of tokens, the adjective *intelligence* correlates significantly with woman, while for man it does not, indicating that intelligence is an issue of debate for females, while for males it is not.

Similarly, *professionalism* was an area of contestation in *FA*, reinforced by the significant collocations with *professional* as an adjective (MI=4.61; t score: =3.84) and as a noun and adverb (MI=4.61). Examination of concordances for 'professional' again revealed a high quantity of litotes and qualification, and this indicates uncertainty or debate over professionalism for women in *FA*, absent from the other three corpora.

Another collocation with woman in *FA, interesting,* appears to have a specific pragmatic role, in raising issues of conjecture about motives of female referent or possible outcomes:

15) *I'm a mum and I wo n't stand for it! **Interesting** that Woman deflects criticism by*

16) *of most Australians. It will be **interesting** to see if Woman leader can persuade*

17) *lies in the past and it will be **interesting** to see if Woman is just as loose*

18) *under oath it will be extremely **interesting** to learn how*

19) *have sycophants defend her **interesting** to see if Woman is prepared to lie*

Notably, all collocations of *woman* with *interesting* (above) refer to events or actions of the woman, rather than the referent herself (e.g., *an interesting woman*) further supporting the notion that commenters are interested in speculating about female referents' possible actions, rather than commenting on real events.

In FG, positive appraisal of female referents was frequent. As for the evidently genuine judgement of intelligent, referents were appraised as the best in their role, largely applying to Julia Gillard represented as the best Prime Minister in 13 comments:

20)   *You are wrong.* WOMAN *was the **best** PM. This* WOMAN *took the ALP*

21)   *former PM* WOMAN *as one of our **best** PM 's. A person of dignity, grace*

22)   WOMAN *is the **best** PM since Keating!;Classy compasionate*

23)   *A*n *occasional failings probably our **best** PM in decades.*

Regarding the male corpora, *MA*, with few evaluative adjectives, was dominated by accounts of the referents' political role: *public, prime, legal, statutory, Liberal, politicised* as well as references to an infamous incident of drunkenness (*drunk, asleep*) on the part of the leader of the opposition and later Prime Minister. One possibly evaluative adjective was *aware* as concordances largely reveal criticism or praise for levels of awareness of political issues. However, as judgement, this appears mild relative to judgements in the other corpora, suggesting unfamiliarity with an unfavourable situation rather than actual wrongdoing:

27)   *might be involved in ? ... So* MAN *is **aware** of all that is going on so as to be*

28)   *presume that* MAN *has to be made **aware** by the AG when the AG is seeking his*

29)   *should go through the AG so* MAN *is **aware** about current questions on law*

30)   MAN *who should have been **aware** and resolved it before it got out of*

31)   MAN *would be completely **aware** of the points you have raised,*

32)   *the new ALP leader* MAN *is fully **aware** of this. Imagine if both parties*

Negative collocations with *MAN* are frequent in *The Guardian* relative to *The Australian*, notably *toxic*, a moniker of Prime Minister Abbott *(Toxic Tony),* and *evil* applying to George Brandis, Attorney General, over his conflict with senior public servants. This judgement is limited to one male referent of ten. Interestingly, the same referent was singled out as weak and effeminate in judgements in *The Australian.*

33)   *Brandis is a specisl kind of **evil**, I am absolutely sure he detests*

34)   *Brandis exudes **evil**- every single day ! Brandis is like*

35)   *. When you 're as **evil** as George Brandis, every attempt at*

36)   *incarnation of his god but he's pure **evil**. Seriously, what is it with Brandis?*

Another theme in *MG* is that of strength, or lack thereof: *sad* is a frequent collocation but only applied to a specific referent in one example of seven, evidently with the colloquial sense of deserving of pity as defined by the Macquarie Dictionary (2021, definition 7) or in fact in irony.

37)   *why should n't he do so ? Oh dear, **sad** that Pyne is upset*

Poor by contrast is used similarly to invoke pity (definition 13, The Macquarie Dictionary, 2021) in an ironic way, but in fact largely applies to male referents, in 11 of 36 concordances.

38)   *is issue until he ran out of breath. **Poor** Old Malcom thought he could stitch*

39)   *and he is attacking **poor** Tony. As the leader of the country*

40)   *not what an AG should be doing. **Poor** George ! ...... proving once again,*

41)   *the article without mentioning **poor** old Tony. Good effort.*

Other adjectives in the topic of strength are *powerful, great* and *big. Powerful* has a range of referents, including companies, governments, policies, but does not apply to individual referents even though it was situated close to the word *MAN* in all examples, suggesting a possible association. *Big* refers frequently to the actions or natures of referents, possibly with irony:

42)   *to fight hard because* MAN *stuffed up big time and* MAN *'s not about to walk*

43)   *went off message and created a great big Mess ……. But that is nothing unusual*

44)   *to say thankfully, so this was the big opportunity ..* MAN *was arguably the*

45)   a*bout standing up for workers against big business and investors but we do n't*

46)   *. Irene* MAN *big noted and promised to 'shirtfront',*

47)   *not as a question. Greg Not a big enough salary and your career rests*

48)   *the air and let it fly.* MAN *too big for his own boots ! !*

49)   *Michael I knew it would be Big* MAN *'s fault somehow, somewhere*

The adjective *stupid* referred equally often to referents and their actions, and to the appraisal that referents think Australian people are stupid:

50)   MAN's *comments are particularly stupid because there is plenty of grey in*

51)   *impracticable and also quite a stupid move.*

52)   *not make* MAN *drunk it made him stupid.* MAN's *genius has always been*

53)   *called Liberal again. You are a stupid fool* MAN *and most of*

54)   *They must think we are all stupid.*

55)   *They definitely do think we are stupid. The evidence is there*

56)   *disloyalty, thinks we are this stupid … I get the impression that* MAN

6.2.3   Discussion

Adjectives collocating with *woman* were highly intensified, that is, representing the qualities they described as strong or extreme. Such intensification further supports the notion of greater reaction and higher emotion in relation to female referents. This is also reflected in the significantly higher frequency of superlative adjectives, more frequent quantifiers (*several,*

many) as well indefinite pronouns (*whatever, anybody, anywhere)* suggesting overall generalisation and strong judgement.

The higher levels of negativity and intensification for adjectives collocating with *woman* were clearly located in the themes of excess or noticeability for female referents in *The Australian*, while *The Guardian* demonstrated a wider range of generally less intense appraisals of female referents, suggesting a possible reduction in stereotyping of female leaders, and an increased tendency to appraise them according to individual actions. A majority of adjectives collocating with *woman* in *The Australian* also represent moral judgements, reminiscent of Martin and White's (2005) Social sanction, and van Leeuwen's (1995) Legitimation by Moral Judgement, indicating that such appraisal is a strategy to delegitimise the referents. Levels of such appraisal are lower in *The Guardian*, where approval and other such positive appraisal of female referents is evident, possibly reflecting reduced stereotyping and greater acceptance of women in leadership roles.

On a related note, the use of litotes to negatively describe females in *The Australian* (*not intelligent; not professional*) may result from reluctance on the part of commenters to openly insult women and run the risk of being criticised for sexism. The examination of characterisations of sexism in later in this chapter add support to the idea of a growing awareness of public disapproval of expression of traditional patriarchal stances. In contrast, the frequent positive appraisal *intelligent* of referents in *FG* may reflect the idea that intelligence in a female leader must be verified to legitimate her in the role. Likewise, the frequent and intensified positive appraisal of referents in *FG* (*magnificent, incredible, best*) may both reflect the notability of women in leadership roles and represent both genuine appraisal and a perceived need to demonstrate legitimacy of females in this role, or be in line with Kanter's (2008) concept of the noticeability of women in traditionally male roles which leaves them vulnerable to more scrutiny.

In contrast, the minimal appraisal of males in *The Australian* may be the result of their established position in leadership roles, where legitimacy is not queried. The lack of evaluative adjectives surrounding topics of drunkenness supports a reduced tendency to judge actions

of male referents, as does the overall lack of intensification and the relative mitigation of criticism of their actions in this corpus.

Appraisal of males in *The Guardian* exhibits some strong negative evaluations, notably *toxic* and *evil.* This may be explained by the predominant political affiliations of *Guardian* readers, who tend to be left or centre-left, while the government in office during the time of data collection was conservative and is also supported by logistic regression of Key Concepts in *The Guardian*, where the Coalition was the strongest association with 'Government'. This is further supported by occasionally highly intensified negative appraisals of women from the Coalition in *The Guardian*, and the wide range of appraisals of female politicians from intensely negative to intensely positive, while in *The Australian*, appraisal of female politicians is overwhelmingly negative.

6.3   Sexism

The *FG* corpus, and to a lesser extent *MG*, contained a large number of comments containing the lemmas *sexist, feminist* and *misogynist*. The Key Concept 'People: female' in FG had a log likelihood of 32. 05; and log ratio of .36 compared to *MG*. Examination revealed that this Key Concept was largely constituted of comments with the abovementioned lemmas and hence appeared relevant to the research questions of this study, as they are concerned with differential treatment by gender. Across the corpora, discussion of feminism, sexism and misogyny concerned several different events. In *FG*, many comments reflected on Julia Gillard's Prime Ministership at its close in 2013 and whether she was subjected to sexism during her time in office. There was also some discussion of 'The misogyny speech', an address given in parliament in which Gillard recounted a list of behaviours and statements by the then Opposition Leader, Tony Abbott, which were deemed sexist. This was in response to Abbott's charge that the speaker, Peter Slipper had sent sexist text messages and was hence unfit for his position. Considerable controversy arose around the speech, which the media largely labelled as strategic on Gillard's part, while support for the speech by the public was notable (Johnson, 2015). A point of confusion seems to have arisen because Gillard could have been accused of supporting sexist behaviour, as the texts contained explicit sexual content aimed at females, although no one individual was named. The famed 'misogyny speech' has been

widely researched, major conclusions being that the press dismissed the speech as uncontrolled and emotional, strategic and hypocritical (Worth et al., 2016) in stark contrast to the public, especially women in Australia and abroad, for whom the speech resonated (Donaghue, 2015; Johnson, 2015). Nevertheless, it is evident that the issue of whether sexism existed in parliament and the authenticity of Gillard's and other referents' complaints appear to continue to colour debate on issues of women's rights and treatment of women. Hence, although this investigation will not deal with the misogyny speech in depth, it occasionally refers to it in analysis and discussion.

Another event, more prominent in *MG*, occurred in 2014 when the then Finance Minister, Coalition Senator Mathias Cormann called the opposition leader, Bill Shorten *an economic girly man*, provoking widespread reaction. Most comments regarding sexism in MA concerned a similar event in 2016 when Labor frontbencher Doug Cameron referred to women in the Coalition government as behaving *like silly schoolgirls*. One final event involved Greens Senator Sarah Hanson Young who commented that she would not be lectured to about parenting by *grumpy old white men*. This followed criticism of her for taking her daughter on a boat trip in The Australian Bight as part of an investigation into the state of the environment.

To explore the theme of sexism in more detail, comments were selected from all corpora if they contained lemmas of *sexism feminism* or *misogyny*. Raw numbers of comments in the theme of sexism were more frequent *The Guardian (n=87)*, than *The Australian* (n=63) Under the Key Concept of sexism, total comments in each corpora fell into eleven major themes as outlined in table 6.2.:

Table 6.2
Coding for topoi for comments containing the key lemmas 'sexist', 'misogynist', and 'feminist' for both publications.

ENDORSES FEMINISM	Commenter judges that the issue or person associated with feminist is genuine and well founded
POLITICAL / DOES NOT ENDORSE FEMINISM	Commenter judges that reference to feminism by politician is strategic or hypocritical.

WHAT IS FEMINISM	Commenter questions what feminism is or who is feminist.
SEXISM TRUE	The commenter communicates that the female politician was subject to sexism/misogyny. Either the female referent was subjected to it, or the male referent was a perpetrator
SEXISM BY FEMALES	Commenter communicates that female politicians are behaving in a sexist way toward a male or males.
STRATEGIC/ POLITICAL	According to the commenter, female politicians use accusations of sexism/misogyny/feminism to gain political advantage. Her claims are judged as **insincere or based on conformity rather than conviction**.
WHAT IS SEXISM?	The commenter expresses confusion / uncertainty about what sexism actually is - e.g., they may think that it is only sexism if someone insults a person on purely gender based grounds. Commenter may query if an incident is s/m **but do not firmly deny i**t, in contrast to 'Not Sexism'
NOT SEXISM	Incidents referred to where female politician complained of Sexism were not indicative of sexism but something else e.g., Incompetence.
MISOGYNY TRUE/REAL	Commenter judges that the event/statement etc was a true example of misogyny
POLITICAL	According to the commenter, female politicians use accusations of misogyny to gain political advantage. Her claims are judged as insincere or based on conformity rather than conviction.
MISOGYNY NOT TRUE	Incidents referred to where female politician complained of MISOGYNY were not indicative of misogyny but something else e.g., Incompetence.

Comments were coded twice once by the researcher and once by an independent coder, demonstrating consistency higher than 95%. In *The Guardian* 80% of comments (n=69) containing the lemma of sexism opined that female politicians had been subjected to sexist discrimination, in stark contrast to *The Australian*, where no comments expressed this view. Instead, 54% of comments accused female politicians of behaving in a sexist manner towards males and also opined in 35% of comments (n=23) that complaints by females of being subjected to sexism were politically/strategically motivated, compared to a modest eight comments (9%) in *The Guardian* (fig. 6.1 below). A few comments from both newspapers

argued that accusations of sexism perpetrated by males were false, and similar numbers appeared uncertain as to what constituted sexist behaviours.
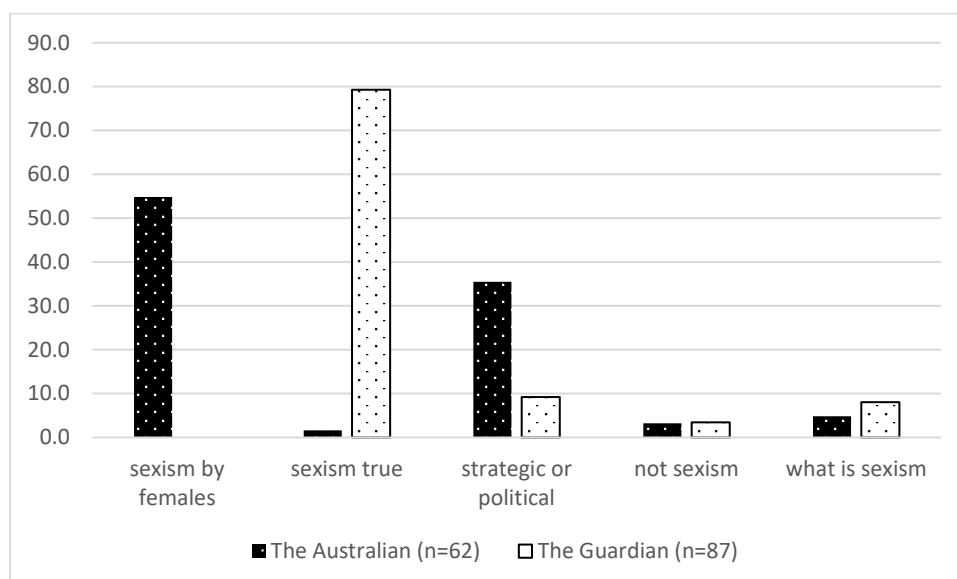
Figure 6.1
Major arguments by percentage of total Key Concept arising under the theme of 'sexism' in the two publications

Example comments in the category of 'sexism true' category is shown below and are coded for graduation according to the key in Appendix 34, p.371. Below are examples of comments coded 'Sexism true' (57-61) to which either the female referent was subjected, or the male referent was a perpetrator. Intensification, saturation and judgement are strongly evident in all examples.

57) *Gillard is far from perfect* [Mitigation]*, but she does not deserve the **sexist** misogynist bull* [Intensification] *from this extremely* [Intensification] *ambitious persistent persistently negative hypocrite.*[Saturation]

58) *It was about the **constant and abusive, misogynist, sexist, sledging*** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation] *that has been Abbott 's platform in public*

59) *But these constant stories about the **unashamedly sexist and personal abuse*** [Judgement] [Intensification] [Saturation]*she gets*

60) *But, her response was based on all the* **sexist crap** [Judgement] [Intensification]*she had been putting up with up until that moment* [Judgement] [Intensification]

61) *. It 's not a bitter twisted outlook to state the* **obvious misogyny** [Judgement] *aimed at her.* **sexism** *was in Federal Parliament long before gillard got in to politic; by* **blaming her you blame a victim** [Judgement] [Intensification] *(FG)*

The comments that refuted notions of sexist behaviour by male politicians ('Not sexism'), attributed female politicians' difficulties to their personal qualities or political decisions of the female referent (62), to over-extension or deliberate misuse of the term feminist (63. 64).

62) *For being pissed off that our PM is crap and has used the fact that the opposition leader is an antiquated, sexist buffoon to attempt to hide the fact that she (the PM) is crap?*

63) *The point of* **feminism** *is to achieve equal rights and opportunities between women and men.;* **Feminism** *is* **degraded** [Judgement] [Intensification] *as soon as it attempts to* **cry foul** [Judgement] [Intensification]*about* **(largely) non-existent sexism**[Mitigation] *and mask very, very poor government*

64) *whether our leader is male or female. Therefore, I find it intriguing how much gender and sexism has had such an impact on the Gillard premiership. I also wonder how sweeping the generalisations are.*

The majority of comments in this theme in *The Australian* addressed the lack of reaction by Labor females to sexism aimed at Coalition females and therefore evident hypocrisy (65 – 66):

65) *Senator Wong has been approached for comment as well ... Raymond The* **deafening silence** [Judgement] [Intensification]*from the Sisterhood proves h***ow shallow and baseless are the beliefs of the likes of P. Wong, Plibersek and fellow(1,2,3,5)**

66) *Can Turnbull now call Tanya and Penny silly school girls and get away with it?...thought not. Penny would be screaming sexism* [Judgement] [Intensification] *and Tanya would* **call for his dismissal** [Intensification] ***Hypocrisy, thy name is Labor (again)*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*.*

In the topos of 'Sexism by females' (*The Australian*), commenters labelled a female referent as sexist for comments which could reflect badly on males, presenting sexism as a symmetrical practice, where both genders equally discriminate against the other.

67) *If she was standing up to sexism she wouldn't be so complicit in supporting **extreme sexist acts** [Judgement] [Intensification] - **fact is** Julia Gillard **is sexist not just in words but in deeds when it suits her** (3,5)*

68) *And where is the human rights commissioner declaring her comments as **sexist** and discriminating to target all males as grumpy old men or is she just referring to seniors*

69) *Who says only men are p'ed off ? i am too SHY. Very **sexist** remark. do nt women have the right or the brains to complain or do nt they count ?*

70) *This woman is a disgrace. And as for her racist, misandrist remarks about Cory Bernardi;*

71) *The HRC wont take any complaints from white men - 44 white men laid complaint about labor MP Linda Burney's insulting, offensive, denigrating words of Race Hate, and sexist, ageist words last November*

Another minor theme arising at less than 5% in both publications was that discussion of sexism should not be raised in parliament and in fact lowered parliamentary standards:

72) *It was Gillard who first brought **sexism** into Federal Parliament by insinuating Abbott to be a Misogynist*

73) *several female politicians in both Federal and State Governments who have never brought **sexism** to the political arena. Gillard was the first, and she must wear the Mantle for that*

74) *constant (1% increase) of female voters, but lost 7% of male voters. Before you cry **sexism**, remember these are voters she lost, who had previously voted for her,*

75) *Feminism is degraded as soon as it attempts to cry foul about (largely) non-existent **sexism** and mask very, very poor government. Let 's call a spade a spade.*

76) *harp on about misogyny and gender sob stories does her no favours. ; she was our first female PM (and good for her), but she should be remembered and judged for her political*

A group of comments, totalling less than 3% for both publications queried the nature of sexism, feminism or misogyny, coded 'What is Sexism'.

77) *So, just so I'm clear, you're saying that if you're bad at your job you're fair game for **sexist** remarks?;No, you're not clear*

78) *Is Pilger saying that because Gillard's record on so many other fronts is abysmal (I agree, it is), the **misogyny** against which she spoke is less of an evil?*

79) *However, it is useful to see **sexism** as existing on a spectrum*

80) *Lynda Maybe it will stop them talking about the world's most **feminist** religion or SSM for a while, but to be fair and balanced they will have to talk about a few of the other side's more notable drinkers too and somehow that probably won't happen.*

81) *If we 'boo' her, will it be **sexist** or racist?*

82) *She's a lovely woman!! Oops, that's **sexist**.*

A semantic analysis was undertaken, using concordances of the lemmas *sexism* or *feminism* in *The Guardian* which totalled 4030 words. The analysis revealed high levels of degree boosters (1.8%) (e.g., *lot, many*) (1.8%) maximisers (e.g., *total(ly) whole* (6%) negative evaluations (*crap, abject*) (1.9%) time intensifiers (*relentless, constant*) (2.35% noticeability markers (*blatant, manifestly*) intensified violent emotions (*vicious, abusive, attacks, evisceration*) indicating overall intensification and hence strong commenter reaction. The remaining Key Concept, 'Comparison' (*same, equal*) mostly compared Percentages *in The Guardian* corpora are compared in Table 6.3 below with the NOW corpus to demonstrate the degree of intensification. The NOW is a far larger corpus, and also general in its content, while this selected subcorpus is small and highly specialised, which should be kept in mind when interpreting these results, but they nonetheless indicate high reactivity surrounding the concept of sexism.

Table 6.3
Percentages of evaluative and intensified Key Concepts in The Guardian vs. the Neutral NOW corpus

USAS	Semantic Category	% Guardian	% NOW
A11.2+	Noticeability	20.01	0.02
A6.1-	Comparison	4.49	0.74
E3-	Emotions - Violent	4.29	0.21
T2++	Time - extended	2.36	0.33
A5.1-	Evaluation - bad	1.9	0.05
A13.3	Degree boosters	1.8	0.5

Lexica collocating with the terms feminism/t, misogyn/y/ ist and sexism/t were highly varied and numerous in FG. All examples of these with an MI over 7 are listed in Table 6.4 below. A higher significance level was chosen for MI because the actual names of referents were used rather than the corpus, where names were changed to the generic *woman* as these more unique collocations are likely to generate higher MI scores.

Table 6.4
Lexica collocating with lemmas of feminist, misogynist and sexist in The Guardian corpora showing mutual information (MI) scores above 7

Feminism		Freq.	MI	t score	misogyny		Freq.	MI	t	Sexism		Freq.	MI	t
generalisations	feminism	3	9.4	1.73	misogyny	card	4	7.75	1.72	sexist	remark	6	9.22	1.73
egregious	feminism	3	8.5	1.73	Misogyny	speech	27	7.69	1.99	sexism	against	9	8.05	1.73
feminism	mask	3	7.9	1.73	misogyny	sexism	12	7.07	2.63	experience	sexism	5	7.63	1.72
Feminist	movemen	5	7.9	2.23	bullying	misogyny	7	7.58	1.72	standing	sexism	4	7.21	1.99
feminist	millions	4	7.2	1.99	Slipper	misogyny	8	7.58	1.72					
describe	feminist	6	8.7	2.23										
IS	feminist	3	8.7	2										
proper	feminist	3	7.7	1.72										
Your	feminism	7	7.5	1.72										
meaning	feminism	2	7.2	1.73										

Collocations with feminism/t contain the most appraisal, with indications of insincerity or strategic use of feminism in *mask, proper* (indicating there are true and untrue forms) as well as *is* indicating an emphatic endorsement of the genuineness of the referent's stance toward feminism and *your*, further presenting feminism as fragmented and variable, while *meaning* and *describe* again raise the prospect of lack of clarity in the concept. The words *hero* and *egregious* further suggest polarity in public stance toward feminism. Collocations of the term *misogyny* associate the term with strategic, insincere use (*card*) while the other collocations appear to describe events of the time. Regarding sexism, the collocation *remark* is notable here since many collocations mention talking, speech or writing (comment, diatribe, text)

indicating that the debate about sexism was largely carried out around verbal events as opposed to physical through the period when this data was collected. The other collocations with sexism evidently deal with lived events and attitudes (experiencing, standing [up to], *against)*.

6.3.1   Discussion of findings for *sexism*, *misogyny* and *feminism*

In summary, commenters to *The Guardian* were markedly more concerned about gender-based discrimination than commenters to *The Australian*, with many more endorsing female referents' experience of discrimination as real (80%+) than unreal (6% or less) while there was little engagement in *The Australian* with this particular topic. Conversely, comments in *The Australian* accused female referents of gender discrimination against males (52% of comments in the theme), while largely refuting that females were subject to gender discrimination themselves. The inconsistency of these two topoi suggests resistance to concepts such as sexism, and their role in shaping the experiences of females. Meanwhile, similar percentages in both newspapers of comments refuting sexism or querying how sexism should be defined, indicate persisting lack of clarity about what constitutes gender-based discrimination, and will be further discussed in section 6.7.

Intensification across the corpora in response to these themes was high, indicating that although *The Australian* commenters engaged little with the topic, they experienced it as highly provocative, their highest engagement being with the topic of lack of support of Coalition females by Labor females, and of alleged sexism by a female Labor referent against males. These two arguments indicate in themselves a more strategic use of the theme by *The Australian* commenters, given their otherwise low level of engagement.

Overall, both intensity and in number of comments containing sexism/feminism/ misogyny, were high in *The Guardian*, suggesting that the issue of discrimination by gender was highly topical in this period, which followed the incumbency of Australia's first female Prime Minister. This may explain the many supportive comments concerning Gillard, the Misogyny Speech and her experiences in parliament. In sharp contrast, the small percentage of comments to *The Guardian* (5%), contending that discussion of sexism was not appropriate material for parliament indicate a persistence of the view that gender-based discrimination is

of little importance or impact within the political system. This view appears to ally with the questioning by several commenters of the nature of sexism itself. The arguments of some align with the view that any reference to femaleness is pronounced sexist by a portion of the community. Others contend that sexism, when encountered, should be confronted independently of the referent's performance in parliament and that sexism can vary in its explicitness. The implication of this is that sexism varies from highly gender-based and hence explicit, to the more implicit or gender-mediated forms. Overall, the comments on the theme of sexism and feminism may represent unfolding development, from denial of the existence of discrimination, to acknowledgement of clearly gender-based discrimination as inappropriate to awareness that discrimination exists beyond traditional gender definitions and in fact includes a number of subconscious assumptions about the nature of each gender. In other words, any discrimination applied to individuals on the basis of their being a member of a particular cohort, in this case femaleness, can itself be regarded as sexism.

6.4 Alcohol and excess drinking

As noted in Chapter 4, this Key Concept was examined because it was significantly higher in both the *MA* and the *MG* corpus and minimal in the female corpora. Frequency of the topic of alcohol for the four corpora is shown in terms of number of comments in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5
Comments containing lemmas in the Key Concept of alcohol and excess alcohol consumption in the four experimental corpora, showing percent of total comments, aggravation / intensification and mitigation

	MA	**MG**	**FA**	**FG**
Num. comments (%)	230 (4.8)	112 (2.3)	54 (1.1)	93 (1.0)
Aggrav (%)	61 (26.5)	5 (4.5)	16(29.6)	4(4.3)
Mitigation (%)	85 (36.90	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)

All 230 comments on the topic of alcohol and excess drink (4.8%) in *MA* showed far more reaction to this topic than the other corpora, being almost absent in *FA*, while frequency in *MG* was somewhat greater than in FG. As will be demonstrated in the analysis below, alcohol consumption was a topic firmly in the male domain, demonstrated by greater reference to real events, greater detail and greater polarity in commentary, including high levels of both

tolerance and disapproval of alcohol overuse. Overall, several supportive comments were made about male referents regarding alcohol use, while for females, comment was rare but universally negative. Several events were referred to in comments, but largely different for each corpus. In *MA*, the overwhelming majority of comments dealt with Tony Abbott as deputy PM failing to appear in parliament for a vote on an important bill because, as he later admitted, he was inebriated and fell asleep in his office. *MG* was dominated by comments on an article by Senator Dough Cameron where he admitted to having had a drinking problem in the past, and celebrated the benefits of sobriety, with few mentions of referents in the commentary. As such, comments in this Key Concept in *MG* will not be examined in detail. In short, the overwhelming majority of commenters congratulated Senator Cameron on his reformed behaviour, recounting their own battles and successes in reducing alcohol consumption, while a few comments (n=5) referred with considerable negative judgement to Tony Abbott's reported excess drinking during parliamentary sitting time. In the female corpora, comments in the Key Concept of alcohol were less clearly related to an event or news story, but related unreal or imagined events, largely in relation to the Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop and general references to privilege and wealth.

The major difference between *MA* and the remaining three corpora was the frequency of comments which defended the referent's use of alcohol in parliamentary time, evidently attempting to mitigate the seriousness of the action. Such comments either compared the referent's consumption of alcohol to that of other politicians or minimised the impact of the referent's behaviour. Coding established the following arguments within comparison or minimisation and sub-codes, such as 'Drinking is indicative of popularity' were coded by a second coder in addition to the researcher with an overall agreement of 87%. Graduation within comments was coded with the key used in chapter 4 and described in Appendix 4, p.371.

Comparison: Referent performed better drunk than others sober(n=28)

86)   *. Not only did Abbott manage to **down a few drinks**[Mitigation]*, he still managed to down the ALP and take out Krudd/Gillard. Says a lot about the ALP*

87) *I'd take Mr Abbott over Turnbull and Swan ANY day* [Judgement]*! ! ! **Drunk**, or not. And asleep. TA would **run rings**[Judgement] around Turnbull and Swan*

88) *A Tony Abbott **drunk** is **infinitely preferable** [Judgement] to a Malcolm Turnbull **sober***

89) *The reason he was so terrible as a treasurer, **omg do n't tell me** [Intensification]he was that bad and **actually sober** [Intensification] ? How many **drinks** did Her Majesty current opposition leader had each night he Knifed his leader?*

Drinking is indicative of popularity (n=4)

90) *What ? Relevant how ? Ben Kathy At least Tony had **a few mates** [Mitigation] to enjoy **too much wine** [Mitigation] with. I suspect Malcolm might find it hard to gather a group of **genuine drinking buddies** [Mitigation]*

91) *And would just like to add that I would rather have a **drink** with Abbott, than Turnbull or Swan or any other parliamentarian for that matter. Cheers.*

92) *Think we all know the answer to that ! I 'd have a **drink** with me mate Tony **any day**[Intensification]. He's just a normal bloke [Mitigation].*

Drinking is common (n=14)

93) *disgraceful ones the ALP has made? The first High Court had among its members some **serious drinkers** [Intensification], such as Barton and O'Connor, but also a noted opponent of the Australian Constitution [Elaboration]*

94) *A huge surprise to the lefties. Of course Bob Hawke would have been **applauded** [Judgement] [Intensification]when he was **drunk**. richard Andrew robert he never said he was drunk. Just because you have a few too many [Mitigation]*

95) *had a prime minister who regularly **drank** more than that and was given **hero status** [Judgement] [Intensification]for his **drinking ability** [Judgement] [Intensification]*

96) *? Or just some kind of delusion thought? I 'd be surprised if Bob Hawke was n't **drunk** and **MIA** [Mitigation] **on more than one occasion** [Intensification] during his prime ministership !*

97) ***I call BS** (1,2) on the unprecedented part Mal. I 'm sure there would have been a few MPs **pissed** and missing parliament over the years.*

98) *. Most employers test for drugs these days. There are more **bludgers** [Judgement] [Intensification] on welfare **drunk**, than there are **drunk** politicians*

99) *I had **more than a few wines more than once** (4,5), did I tell you about the time ....! ! !*

100) *Abbott' s not a cardboard cutout [Mitigation]. He's an Australian. Sometimes **we do have too much** to **drink** [Mitigation]. Back to your Pimms Malcolm.*

6.4.1   Minimisation

Several prominent themes were seen in comments which argued to minimise the importance of the drinking incident, including the argument that the referent was honest in confessing to his actions (n=4)

101) *I still really could n't give a stuff. If given a choice between a guy who was drunk but who **admits his mistakes** [Elaboration], and another who is **incompetent** [Judgement] [Intensification], and **blame shifts** [Judgement] [Intensification] his mistakes*

Or that the amount of alcohol consumed was Just 'a few'(n=4)

102) *and others are **quick to knock him at the quickest opportunity** (2,5). **Just because he had a few drinks on this occasion** [Mitigation] does not mean it was the norm*

103) *I can get a reaction from the ALPGetUpTurnbull brigade. Thank you? ? So Tony Abbott got drunk **once** [Mitigation] and behaved like a **dill** (1,4) ..... what 's your excuse for behaving like one **all the time** [Intensification] Malcolm?*

Referent could not misbehave because he was asleep (n=4)

104) *we all know he was asleep because he was **drunk**, but the implication of little r robert's post is that he had misbehaved in a drunken manner*

The drinking incident had no real-world consequences:

105) *it did n't matter that Abbott was **absent drunk** [Mitigation], because **it would n't have changed the outcome** [Mitigation]. Which is **obviously true** [Judgement] [Intensification].*

106) *spree with the full support of Mal. TA 's vote **was not needed** [Mitigation].*

Mitigation can be seen in reference to drinking behaviour by Abbott *(107) down a few drinks 86) a few mates/ too much wine (90) just a normal bloke (92) a few too many (94) MIA (missing in action) (96) sometimes we (Australians) do have too much to drink (100) just because he had a few drinks on this occasion (102) behaved like a dill (103).* The high frequency of minimisers (*just, a few*) indicate attempts to represent the event with reduced intensity, as do limiters of frequency and intensity (on this occasion. Also evident is the use of informal and low intensity terms of judgement to acknowledge but minimise the represented severity of the referent's actions (*on one occasion, more than once, sometimes we do; got drunk once*) as well as the low intensity representations of actions and shortcomings on the part of the referent: (*down a few drinks; a few mates; a dill*) In the aforementioned examples, informal language appears to reduce intensity, by presenting the misdemeanours as normal and of low consequence. Meanwhile negative behaviours by others, including drinking alcohol are intensified and judged negatively (*regularly drank more than that; omg don't tell me; actually sober; serious drinkers; some kind of delusion; bludgers (on welfare); incompetent; blame shifts his mistakes; quick to knock; quickest opportunity; all the time; disgraceful [mistakes] the ALP has made).* Intensification is also found in positive representations of Abbott (*down (defeat)the ALP; take out Krudd/ Gillard; run rings around; infinitely preferable; he's an Australian)* and positive representations of excess drinking behaviour by other politicians (*Bob Hawke (former PM) would have been applauded; hero status).* The last examples appear to serve to contrast the negative judgements against Abbott with positive ones about other

politicians, and therefore demonstrate the unfairness of the public reaction against Abbott's drinking behaviour.

Regarding the 68 comments in which objections were raised to the drinking episode, 28 dealt with the issue indirectly, commenting on politicians' drinking behaviour in general. A further 35 could be seen to express minimal intensification, and five comments employed strongly judgemental language against the referent. For the minimally intensified comments, little infused judgement was employed, but instead, most consisted of descriptions of the disapproved behaviour:

107) *To continue drinking while being paid, then becoming too **drunk** to do their job.*

108) *to Annabel Crabb on national TV about being too **drunk** to take part in representing his members in the house*

109) *, and the fact is Abbott had a **boozy** night and slelpt through five divisions.*

110) *Please tell me you have a better excuse for being **drunk** and missing votes than that*

111) *We pay his **generous** salary. Which means you do n't get **pissed** during working hours*

112) *he was not payed by taxpayers to get on the booze. I do n't care if they are on my side of the political fence*

113) *Again he was **drunk** at work on tax payers money.*

114) *No matter which way we cut this, Abbott was **drunk** and missed an important vote.*

Several disapproving comments compared Abbott's behaviour with leaders in other professions or with personal experience:

115) *I would if a person turned up to work and started **drinking** while being paid and they continued*

116) *dismissive comments if the head of ABC was found too **drunk** to perform their duties.*

117) *I would n't be so nice if one of my subordinates got **drunk** at work, during work time and passed out in their office*

118) *I am sure your boss would be just the same if you got **drunk** at work, during work hours and passed out in your office*

119) *Imagine a senior manager turning up **drunk** on a construction site ?*

120) *Would major companies with put up with a CEO who was too **drunk** to attend any meeting, let alone an important one ?*

A few comments were very mitigating in that they appear to express some solidarity with the referent through minimisation of impact (121: *couldn't be bothered*) humour (121), use of familiar naming (122) and generally informal language. It is possible to interpret examples as sarcasm, given the lack of correspondence between the topic and the language style employed.

121) *Couldn't be bothered to vote. Bet he did n't pay for the **wine** either !*

122) *Turning up too **drunk** to work ? Not a problem for our Tony ! !*

6.4.2   Alcohol and Negative Judgement

The remaining comments included extended detail and / or infused and invoked judgment:

123) *If you read it fully it is about an elected Federal member being in a **drunken stupor*** [Judgement] [Intensification] *at work and **not representing the ppl who voted for him*** [Saturation]. ***100% selfish*** [Judgement] [Intensification]*.*

124) *I was **very disappointed** [Judgement] [Intensification]with Abbott after a while and why doesn't his **boorish** [Judgement] [Intensification] behavior surprise me? **After** the episode with the **smashed coffee table** [Judgement] [Intensification] in parliament house, **after** [Mitigation] Abbott's **boozing childish behaviour** not so long ago, **nothing surprises me now** [Elaboration].*

125) *Tony Abbott as he himself [Elaboration] has told us: **drunk and careening** [Judgement] [Intensification] around Parliament House, **incapable of attending** a vote [Saturation]. It's an **ugly picture**. [Judgement] [Intensification]*

126) *I vote for my local member to represent me, not be in a **drunk stupor** at work.*

127) *This pretty much **kills the monks** future as PM. All **anyone** has to ask is Are Your Drunk Now. His **credibility is shot.***

128) ***Self respecting** people do n't **drink themselves into a stupor***

6.4.3 Alcohol Summary and Discussion

In the Key Concept of alcohol, the strategies of defence and attack in representation again appear to closely mirror the expected social behaviours influenced by social stratification, through a minimising or normalising of the behaviours of a cohort. Negative reaction to drinking behaviours clustered largely around negative evaluation of propriety, as seen in the comparison of Abbott's behaviour with commenters' self or other prominent, successful figures. Such comparison, according to Van Leeuwen (2008, p.112) generally constitutes moral evaluation as it compares the behaviour with an approved standard.

While reaction was mixed, a sizeable percentage of commenters present Abbott's drunkenness during a working day as normal and valued Australian behaviour, contrasting with the undesirable qualities of those referents who were not accused of drinking, or those who appear to drink in moderation, such as Malcolm Turnbull, the sitting PM at the time of the event, portrayed as preferring an atypical Australian drink, possibly one with connotations of effeminacy: *Back to your Pimms, Malcolm*. The use of minimisers and informal, everyday vocabulary may serve to have a normalising effect on the representation of the referent, and hence his actions and values become an accepted standard, as is typical in social stratification of prestige cohorts (*couldn't give a stuff; me mate Tony; a dill).* This contrasts with the formal negative judgement of other individuals referred to (*disgraceful; terrible; serious drinkers; bludgers; incompetent; blame [-] shifts*) and the examples where reference to other politicians is accompanied by accounts of negative behaviours (*How many **drinks** did Her Majesty current opposition leader had each night he Knifed his leader? some serious drinkers… but also a noted opponent of the Australian Constitution).*

Like the Key Concept of sexism, alcohol misuse was highly polarising and attracted a high level of commentary and reaction, but in *The Australian* rather than *The Guardian*. As the comments in this Key Concept centred around just a few referents, it must partially reflect the

popularity or lack thereof of those referents, rather than relating exclusively to gender. Nevertheless, the prominent use of mitigation in the form of favourable comparison of the referent with others, normalisation of the drinking behaviour, minimising lexis and expressions and minimising arguments (*Abbott could not have wreaked havoc, he was asleep*) are all but absent for all female referents in the corpora examined here. In terms of defending a referent against criticism for their behaviour, the only event which approaches that of alcohol misuse was Gillard's knitting of a kangaroo for the royal baby. That subtheme is far smaller than of alcohol but contains a few mitigating as well as disapproving comments. The small number of positive comments about female referents in *The Guardian* are greatly more intensified and supported with evidence and argument indicating strong reaction and emotional response in the referents' favour and hence that the issue is regarded as high stakes by the commenters.

The other outstanding feature in this theme is that, as with alleged crime, misuse of privileges such as travel and public funds access, the few comments on females lack detail and are largely speculative. Commenters to *The Guardian* speculate that the (female, Coalition) Foreign Minister is largely interested in prestigious, alcohol-fuelled events at various functions around the world (*They were accompanied at the champagne event by the Jackman/Kidmans*) or draw on stereotypes of female referents imbibing sherry to cope with career disappointment. This lack of attention to verifiable events and detail is consistent with femaleness across several Key Concepts and could be classified as a form of partial omission. It is beyond the scope of this study to speculate as to the commenter reactions to a female referent who drank excessively during parliamentary time. However, it remains arguable that female referents in this study received stronger negative judgement for less extreme forms of misdemeanour.

6.5　　If Clauses and Counterfactuals

If clauses were examined in all four corpora because they were significantly more frequent in *FA* than *MA* but present in similar proportions for both genders in *The Guardian*. Large numbers of counterfactuals were noted in 'if' clauses for both female corpora, but were far less frequent in both male corpora, prompting a line-by-line search through all 'if' concordances. Counterfactuals which recorded past events were removed from this analysis

(*If she was still PM, if Albo had taken the ALP leadership*) leaving only evaluative clauses. Such counterfactual evaluations were more frequent in *The Guardian* (LL= 14.8; LR=1.37; F=54, M=24), and overall, far more frequent for females (FG:37; *FA*:17; *MG*:13; *MA*:6). Evaluations of a lack of veracity and capacity were found for both genders, although actual numbers were much higher for females. (Veracity F=9, M=2; capacity F=19, M=8). Propriety for females was significantly higher in frequency (LL=11.79; LR=2.14).

Another notable difference by gender was the much higher frequency of invoked judgement for females in both female corpora relative to male corpora, as well as higher frequency of intensifiers, although the male sample is much smaller. All examples are detailed below. Further these counterfactuals exhibit a higher frequency of intensifiers in the female corpora. Infused intensification is marked in **bold** and isolated intensifiers are <u>underlined</u> for all corpora in Table 6.6 below. The male corpus contains three words of intensified denotation (*pompous, arrogant, disaster*) and one isolated intensifier (much). The female corpora by contrast contain 12 words of intensified denotation and 24 isolated intensifiers. All examples of counterfactuals from the four corpora are presented in table 6.7 below since the overall sample is manageable, and counterfactuals represent a small but informative example of language use.

Table 6.6
Invoked judgement in counterfactuals in the male and female corpora

Male corpora - all counterfactuals:

Capacity

129) *If he were competent, he 'd be <u>much more</u> dangerous.*	*(MG)*
130) *if this **clown** did not have his hands on the nations finances.*	*(MG)*
131) *if ever there were one, a **disaster** for the rule of law.*	*(MG)*

Normality

132) *if he was n't <u>so</u> **pompous** and **arrogant**.*	*(MG)*

Propriety

133) *if he had been sober and awake?*	*(MA)*
134) *If Shorten and Turnbull were **serious** they would show us*	*(MA)*

Female corpora - all counterfactuals:

Capacity

135)	*If*	*Ms Triggs had <u>any</u> brains <u>at all</u>,*	*(FA)*
136)	*If*	*she had learnt <u>much</u> in that **46 year career***	*(FA)*
137)	*if*	*Ms Wong learnt the language? I would have thought*	*(FG)*
138)	*If*	*<u>only</u> Penny Wong was <u>this</u> detailed,*	*(FG)*
139)	*If*	*<u>only</u> she 'd worked it out about 15 years ago she might*	*(FG)*
140)	*if*	*she did n't know the name of the President of Indonesia*	*(FG)*
141)	*if*	*she had <u>any kind</u> of **idea** about diplomacy that is;*	*(FG)*
142)	*if*	*she had been a <u>true</u> leader she could have used her*	*(FG)*
143)	*if*	*she had been pm that would have been a sad day.; T*	*(FG)*
144)	*if*	*she had **bothered** <u>to even</u> visit an African country!*	*(FG)*
145)	*if*	*she had done <u>something</u> when she was elected*	*(FG)*
146)	*if*	*she had had <u>better</u> political instincts, judgement*	*(FG)*
147)	*if*	*Gillard was seen as competent and trusted Indeed as she is n't,*	

Propriety

148)	*If*	*she was <u>any sort</u> of person with principle*	*(FA)*
149)	*If*	*she and the HRC was free of political bias*	*(FA)*
150)	*If*	*she was not <u>so</u> **blatantly** politically biased*	*(FA)*
151)	*If*	*triggs had <u>any</u> integrity she would have*	*(FA)*
152)	*If*	*I had turned up with one of my children*	*(FA)*
153)	*If*	*the child 's condition had worsened*	*(FA)*
154)	*If*	*Plibersek and her **angry** ants had allowed*	*(FA)*
155)	*If*	*she 'd done nothing wrong.*	*(FA)*
156)	*If*	*Bishop was <u>so</u> **pure** of intent she would have abstained*	*(FG)*
157)	*If*	*I had taken actions <u>so</u> **unethical** as to cost people money*	*(FG)*
158)	*If*	*it was <u>anyone else</u> behaving as she did when questioned*	*(FG)*
159)	*If*	*Ms Bishop had <u>any</u> social conscience she would donate*	*(FG)*
160)	*If*	*she 'd only <u>just</u> shut up about abuse, given in to*	*(FG)*

161)	if	*she did, she could have put in place some **genuine***	*(FG)*
162)	If	*she had <u>any</u> decency, she would.*	*(FG)*
163)	If	*she had been **pure** like Sylvia?*	*(FG)*
164)	If	*she had not jailed the 730 people on Christmas Island*	*(FG)*
165)		*she was <u>less</u> **overgroomed** than she is.*	*(FG)*
166)	If	*she was <u>so</u> **principled**; she should have voted for*	*(FG)*

Tenacity

167)	if	*<u>only</u> she had worked <u>so</u> **hard** and consistently on pol*	*(FG)*

The largest difference between the two can be seen in the high preponderance of propriety in the female corpora, while in the male, one mention of lack of propriety in fact refers to a real event: drunkenness and sleeping in parliament, while the other can be seen as relatively low intensity (*were serious*) compared to (*not) a person with principle/ integrity / pure of intent / ethical / decent / pure / a true leader ; a biased / angry /overgroomed* person*;* lacking political instincts, understanding of diplomacy and lacking effort (*had bothered to visit Africa, had only worked so hard*) as well as examples of harsh political decision (*knifed Rudd, jailed 730 people*). There are also two examples, (152) and (153) referring to the personal life of the female referent and exploring possible negative outcomes which is absent from the male corpora.

Positive evaluations of referents were also found in counterfactuals. In *FG*, ten comments lamented that Gillard's performance in office was negatively affected by the behaviours of the then opposition leader, Tony Abbott and his shadow cabinet, while one opined that her team was a hindrance to her performance. In *MG*, five comments opined that Gillard received more leniency than Abbott would have, if he had engaged in similar behaviours, specifically during her misogyny speech.

An evaluation present in the male examples of counterfactuals but absent from female examples was lack of humility, classified here under Martin and White's (2005) 'normality.' Females by contrast, were frequently evaluated as lacking caution, lacking objectivity and one comment complained of obstructiveness.

For the remainder of counterfactual clauses, the zero conditional, which expresses states or habits, was significantly more common for males. There were not clear gender patterns along gender lines for future conditionals and hypothetical conditionals.

While small, this sample of counterfactuals nonetheless underlines an important difference in the construction of genders. The range of judgements was similar for both genders in terms of intensity, but the much higher frequency in female corpora of both inscribed and isolated intensification indicating stronger emotional intensity in the commenters. In terms of range of topics both male and female corpora included judgements of capacity and propriety to colleagues or the public while the latter was far more frequent for females. Unique to males were judgements of what I have termed 'egalitarianism', which may correspond to Martin and White's (2005) 'normality' while for females, dominating types of judgement were of lack of constraint, lack of morality, lack of leadership skills and unlikeability (Table 6.6 above).

6.5.1   Summary of if Clauses and Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals were greatly more common in comments on female referents than males. While comments on both genders were negative, comments on males exhibited some mitigation, from mildly critical to highly judgmental. The majority of comments on females centred on constraint, or lack thereof, and morality while for males there was no clear trend, other than a slight emphasis on lack of egalitarianism.

The first question that requires discussion in this analysis is why counterfactuals as a communication strategy were far more highly favoured in comments on females. Counterfactuals represent a mechanism for exploring alternative outcomes in past events, and it is therefore likely that the high rate of turnover of female referents due to resignation, sacking and the change of government in 2013 means that many comments were in fact reasoning about past events for females. This however does not explain all the occurrences of counterfactuals, as several of the female referents remained as members of parliament. It also does not explain the higher intensity in counterfactual statements about females.

In a review of literature on counterfactuals, Byrne (2016) notes that counterfactuals entail considerably more intellectual effort than affirmative statements, hence representing a marked syntactical structure which is less likely to be employed. Several psychologists associate counterfactuals with strong negative affect, particularly regret, on the part of the speaker (Byrne, 2016; Mandel, 2003; Roese, 1997). Their function is one of analysing a situation in order to diagnose causes of unfavourable outcomes and hence they represent a form of risk minimisation. By applying invoked negative judgements about referents, these counterfactual comments may serve to diagnose individual referents as the source of negative outcomes, due to their personal shortcomings. The frequent use of isolated intensifiers amplifies the commenters' commitment to their position and may be a mechanism of persuasion for other readers.

Pragmatically, presupposition enables two important functions: the capacity to present in the first clause, or antecedent, an indirect opinion which resembles indisputable fact, in a manner which is less clearly challengeable than a direct assertion or proclamation. (Byrne, 2016). Example 168 below presents a counterfactual from *FG*, followed by recasting of the same information as an affirmation (i). Counterfactuals also provide an opportunity for a commenter to explore and present unreal outcomes and scenarios with a semblance of facticity as seen in example (169) (ii):

168) *If **she had any decency**, she would inform us of her actions as foreign minister (FG)*

   (i)   (I think) she has no decency. That is why she does not inform us of her actions

169) *As one commentator noted, **if she had had better political instincts**, judgement and communication skills neither Rudd or Abbott would have been able to get within a mile despite all their efforts. (FG)*

   (ii)   A commentator noted she had poor political instincts and that explains why Rudd and Abbott were able to successfully undermine her.

Van Dijk (2017) noted that counterfactuals are a common strategy of manipulation and outlined their frequent use in mainstream media to undermine the position of President Dilma Rousseff of Brazil. (p.215). Van Dijk supports the premise that counterfactuals disguise

judgement and supposition as fact, seeking to promote a preferred definition or explanation of a situation. Further, counterfactuals tend to be more prevalent in exceptional situations rather than common or expected ones (Roese, 1997), which appears logical if they demonstrate a reasoning process to minimise risk. As women in parliament represent a relatively recent phenomenon and have low overall numbers, it is likely they will be subjected to greater scrutiny and even that such scrutiny will examine aspects of behaviour and personal qualities that have been identified as affecting politicians' performance in the past.

6.6 Authority and Obligation in comments to online newspapers. Representing power

6.6.1 Theoretical Basis

According to Foucault, the dominant discourses of society are created by its power structure. Discourse structures anonymise most individuals in society, thereby placing them as 'object' while a few individuals are manufactured in the image of the power structure. Within discourse, this manifests itself in generalised representation or lack of attention to individuals cast as 'object', while powerful individuals, the rightful occupants of the role of 'subject', are represented in more detail and with more agency, establishing their values and preferences as a model for society (Marti, 1999). However, as Van Leeuwen notes, belief in and adherence to these values must be cultivated and presented as just or valid, a process called legitimation. Legitimation, Van Leeuwen posits, can therefore be seen as a central role of language for maintenance of authority and power, continually reinforcing the 'subject' role (2008, p.105). Maintaining power is an ever-present feature of dominant discourse, as Foucault proposes, and resistance to power in the society is universal, albeit aimed locally and in a disorganised way (1984).

Van Leeuwen's investigations of legitimation in texts revealed four major mechanisms of legitimation of the 'subject', in the Foucauldian sense. The strongest is 'Appeal to Authority' such as government, experts or high office holders, and the law.

170) *And what does the **PM** have to say about Hanson Young's family whale watching excursion on taxpayer's money? (The Australian)*

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Less powerful is an appeal to recognized moral standards of the society, or 'Moral Evaluation', elsewhere described as Deontic stance (Kärkkäinen, 2006). Van Leeuwen (2008, p.110) proposes that moral evaluation is achieved through appeals to what is 'natural and normal', through abstraction, associating the subject with socially desirable states or qualities such as independence, honesty or strength and can conversely be used against individuals as an attack on their legitimacy.

171) *O'Dwyer did not address transition to retirement in a full and **honest** way this morning, specially for those aged 56-60.(The Australian)*

Similarly, individuals can be compared to desirable or undesirable characters or situations through analogy:

172) *'the dislike of Ms. Gillard expressed in these posts is very similar to the dislike of Mrs. Thatcher' (Comment, The Australian, 26 November, 2016).*

A third mechanism of legitimation is 'Rationalisation', in which discourse is legitimised through appropriate goals and uses:

173) *'I suspect she is representing the Yes campaign as underdogs to talk up the vote!* (Comment, *The Australian*, 28 November 2016. Plebiscite on Same-Sex Marriage).

Finally, mythopoesis is the narration of stories or anecdotes to reinforce a particular, socially legitimate outcome or to deliver a warning (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.117).

My analysis of legitimation turned first to establishment of authority. Van Leeuwen links authority mainly to public figures and institutions, including role models. However, authority can be seen to extend further, based on context. In a given situation, one may present oneself as the authority, or an infinite combination of other groups and players. Strength of authority can arguably be linked to perceived resistance, or the degree of compliance or deviance of the referent from accepted social standards. Legitimacy is therefore arguably linked to two separate paradigms in linguistic analysis: that of epistemic modality (Karkkainnen, 2006), similar to epistemic positioning (Bednarek, 2006) epistemic stance (Biber & Finegan, 1989; du Bois, 2007). The second paradigm of interest is Martin and White's (2007) 'Engagement'.

Most authors examining epistemic stance largely agree with Kärkkäinen's (2006) definition, that stance marks the speaker's degree of commitment to the information in their utterance, through markers of certainty (*may*, *probably*, *definitely*,) their attitude to it, expressed as judgement *(disgusting, admirable)* or affect *(like, hate, irritating)* and the kind of evidence proffered. Bednarek (2006) analysed an equivalent of degree of commitment as 'certainty' (*clearly*, *surely*), 'mirativity', or how expected and therefore how normal a phenomenon is: *surprisingly*, *typically*), and extent: the size and impact of the phenomenon (*overwhelmingly*, *somewhat*), all of which may either strengthen or weaken the authoritative position. Legitimation is often located in the kind of evidence a speaker/writer provides, as it must operate through reference to the source of information, or attribution (self, authority, other) through rationalisation, or reference to goals and purposes; or values and beliefs (moral).

In exploring how writers establish the authority of their claims in discourse, this thesis argues, like Bednarek (2006) and Van Leeuwen (2008) that the strength of authority claimed by the writer rests on the source of the authority. It also argues that the source of the authority need not be actual, but may be invoked by the speaker, as in:

174) **The PM** *must demand her resignation*

175) **It's her leader** *that should pull her into line.*

In fact, the authority invoked by the writer has no true relationship to the individual from whom the writer claims legitimacy. In the above cases, the Prime Minister, and the Referent's party leader. Authority can also be revoked and delegitimised:

176) *She was parachuted into the Senate* **by our worst ever PM** *(The Australian, 2016)*

The level of invoked authority can therefore be seen, in the context of reader comments to online newspapers as a reflection of the speaker's desire for strength of legitimation. Interesting complications arise in the case of some forms of presented authority. For example, where the speaker makes a pronouncement such as:

177) *Tanya and her colleagues are not bright enough to have grasped that (The Australian).*

The speaker presents him/herself as the source of judgement, but also presents the phenomenon as an undisputed truth. This invocation of authority may represent authority at its highest level as it provides no source of comparison. This form of stance, labelled *averral* by Bednarek (2006) and *monoglossic proclamation* by Martin and White (2007) not only fails on an interactive level, disallowing space for another opinion, but in terms of representation, diminishes the authority of the Referent completely. Another device which may be seen as a legitimation strategy is the use of agentless passives, often with deontic stance markers, which appear to represent a form of proclamation in such examples as:

178) *She should **be thrown out** (The Guardian)*

179) *He should **be removed from office** (The Australian)*

Other structures marking lack of inscribed authority include various forms of emphasis:

180) ***The spotlight** should be on [Referent] (The Australian)*

181) ***The real focus** should be on Gillard's broken carbon tax. (The Guardian)*

Further, certain actions (verbs) can remove explicit authority by being agentless:

182) *His overt, destructive manner **warrants** extremely onerous punishment (The Australian)*

183) *She was **supposed to be** representing the speaker (The Guardian)*

although the polysemy of *supposed* prevents generalisation of this quality (compare: *She is supposed to be home* (obligation or expectation); *I suppose she is home* (prediction, reasoning), thus making it necessary. to examine each case in context.

Finally, the use of personal expressions of stance such as *I think, I believe* as well as representing dialogic participation or engagement (Martin & White, 2005), may arguably represent the lowest level of legitimation, as authority is reduced to personal judgement, which can be very limited depending on the context of the dialogue: the opinion of an individual citizen invokes far less authority than, for example that of a Prime Minister. Hence, it appears that through such structures of engagement, including others identified by Martin

and White (2005) such as *it appears, it seems,* the speaker minimises the use of authority as a legitimation strategy.

A logical place to begin investigation into legitimation through authority is in discursive markers of obligation and necessity as these are a function of power of individuals or cohorts over others, as well as their responsibilities within their role. Obligation may be marked through modal verbs, among others, as well as adjectives, adverbs and nouns with a cline of strength from strongest to weakest, and either as negative or positive. Necessity here is deemed as different from obligation, as the former suggests that the referent is constrained by circumstances, rather than having duty imposed from a higher authority. The following words and expressions were extracted by the Key Concepts filter of *WMatrix* from the four corpora under study:

> **Strong Obligation**
>
> *Must, compel/ compulsory / compulsion, duty / dutiful, essential/ly, have (got) to, impose/ imposition, mandate / mandatory, oblige / obligate / obligation / obligatory, onus, promise, responsible / responsibility / responsibly, stipulate / stipulation, warrant.*
>
> **Obligation**
>
> *Should/ ought to.*
>
> **Required: constrained by Circumstance**
>
> *have no choice, need / necessary / necessarily / necessity, supposed, prerequisite, preconditions, resort (v).*
>
> **Motivated to Oblige**
>
> *faithful, loyal/ loyalty, Normative, commit /ment, stalwart, staunch.*

All of the above can naturally be negated, where they denote lack of obligation as in:

> *I bet that he does not have to face a stern commissar*

with the exception of 'must not', 'should not' 'ought not to' and 'not supposed to' which denote prohibition.

One major division within obligation is whether it is stated in terms of obligation which the speaker invokes from an external authority, or obligation which the speaker deems to be due by the referent. The former identifies who or what has power over the referent, and how high the level of authority is, while the latter identifies the responsibilities of the referent according to the commenter, revealing the commenter's view of the relative status of the Referent. Examples of invoked external authority (184) and judged obligation by referent (185) are below:

184) **The PM** *must demand her resignation*

185) *she should stay in WA and mind her own business*

Choice of vocabulary or metaphors for the obligations, whether imposed externally or due by the referent, as well as the use of intensifying devices reveal strength of affect about either the referent or the event/situation described. Obligation will now be explored in terms of how it is represented: as imposed by an external authority, or from the point of view of the duties of the referent; how strong the obligation is and what if any are the sources of obligation.

6.6.2   Method

The study first coded obligation sentence by sentence, identifying whether obligation was imposed externally, or presented from the point of view of the referent's obligations. Obligations were then coded as 'strong obligation', 'obligation', 'constrained by circumstances', 'duty', 'promise' and 'free from obligation' as these emerged from the data. Other categories were initially created but excluded from analysis if overall occurrence fell below one sentence per thousand, as these categories were found to be marginal, or even absent from most corpora. Polysemous realisation of words/ phrases which did not entail obligation were excluded (e.g., *he had a lot to say* (quantity). Modals of deduction (*She must have decided to go*) were retained but coded as deduction because they accounted for a very large proportion of the occurrences of the word *must*. Occurrences of obligation were then analysed for topic and intensification to gain further insight into representation of the referent. For externally imposed obligation, the entities imposing obligation were noted and categorised.

6.6.3   Findings regarding authority and obligation

The percentage of sentences expressing obligation fell between 12% and 14% for all corpora.

Figure *6.*2 reveals that more comments in *FG* and *MG* attributed strong obligation to the referent than *The* Australian corpora.
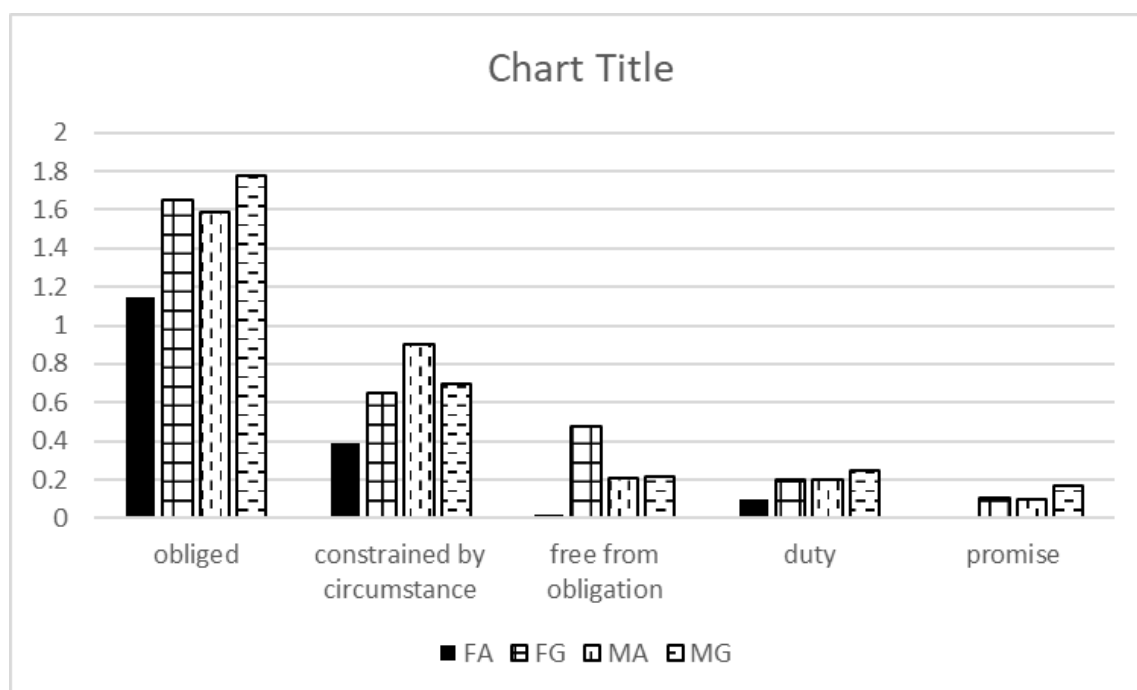
Figure 6.2
Referent represented as source of obligation (% of sentences in each corpus)

In terms of who/ what was imposing obligation externally, four major categories were identified and are listed below:

> **Agentless Passive**
> *'She should be sacked'*
> **Government / Law: courts and police**
> *'The government should sack her'*
> **Citizens/ Voters:** (Australian public, the electorate, *we*, *everybody*)
> **Political party**

As Figure 6.3 below shows, Guardian corpora for both genders presented representation by a far greater range of external agents imposing obligation, including more citizens, comments

to *The Guardian* being more widely distributed across all categories. *MA* and *FA* both contained much higher levels of agentless passives than *The Guardian* Corpora (x̄=74.5% vs x̄=43% respectively), with a restricted range of authorised legitimation overall. Meanwhile, for both female corpora, naming of legal authorities imposing obligation was approximately 10% of all comments containing obligation (not shown in Figure 6.3). Conversely, obligation imposed at the level of the political party was between 5 and 12% of externally imposed obligation for males, but minimal in the female corpora.
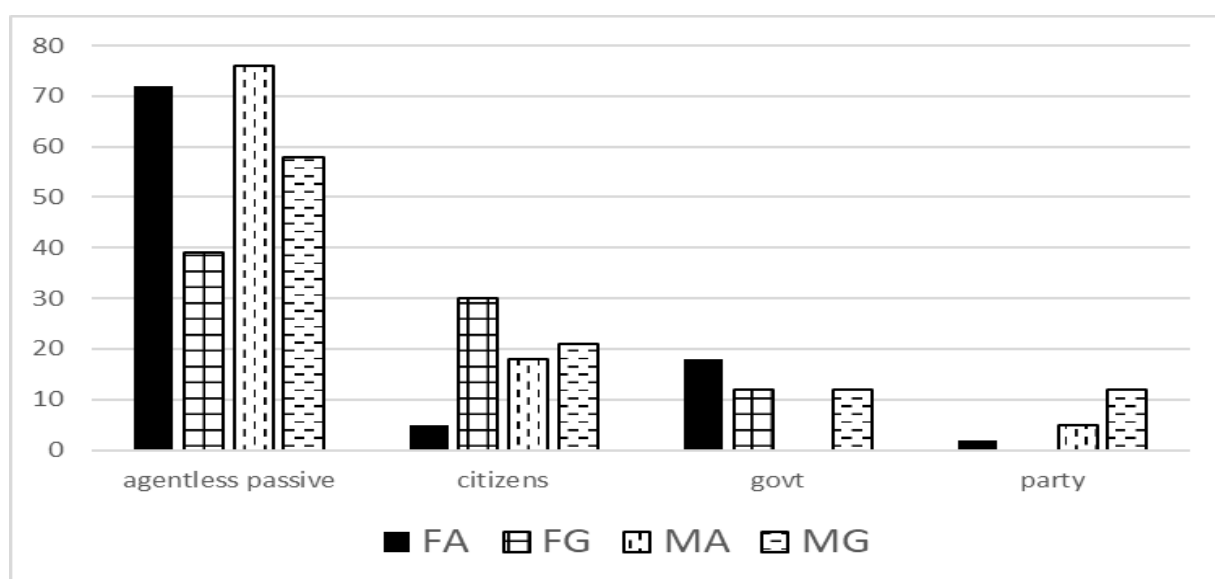
Figure 6.3
Who is imposing obligation? Sources of obligation or authority named in the corpora as percent of external obligation FA, MA, FG, MG

Externally imposed obligation was examined in terms of a cline of strength (e.g. *be forced to, must, should,, needs to*) strong obligation was most frequent for all corpora scored the highest percentages with *FA* at the highest (.58% or one in 170 sentences) followed by *MG.* Lowest scoring in strong obligation was *MA* at.21% or just over a third as many as *FA*. Levels of 'required/ constrained by Circumstance' (largely *need*, *had no choice*, *resorted to*) were minimal for *FA* and low for *MA*, but higher for *The Guardian* Corpora. Deduction (*he must have known*) was far more common for male corpora than female. One further category, *forced* was present only in *FA* and included statements such as *must be forced, make her*. While low overall (.18%) or roughly 10 comments in the whole corpus, it was a notable change in intensity from the remaining corpora. (Figure 6.4).
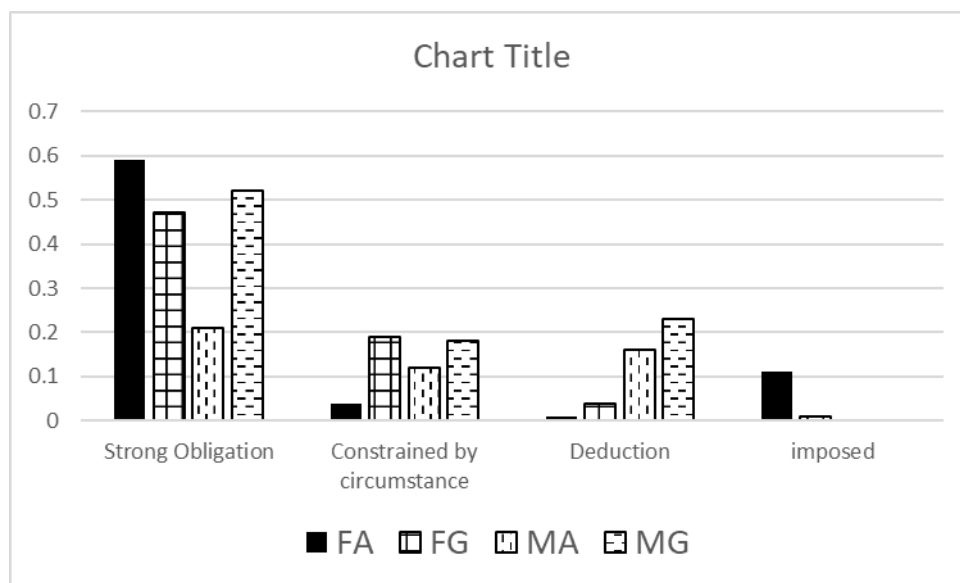
Figure 6.4   *Strength of authoritative obligation as a percent of total sentences in the four corpora*

Figure 6.5 presents the proportion within each corpus of increasing intensity of obligation terms, darker colours being higher. The chart shows that intensity of obligation terms is highest in *FA* with 18% 'imposed' (*make her, force her to*) and 64% 'obliged' (*has to, must*), but lowest in the male corpora. 'Obligation' is predominant in *FG* also at a similar level to *FA*.
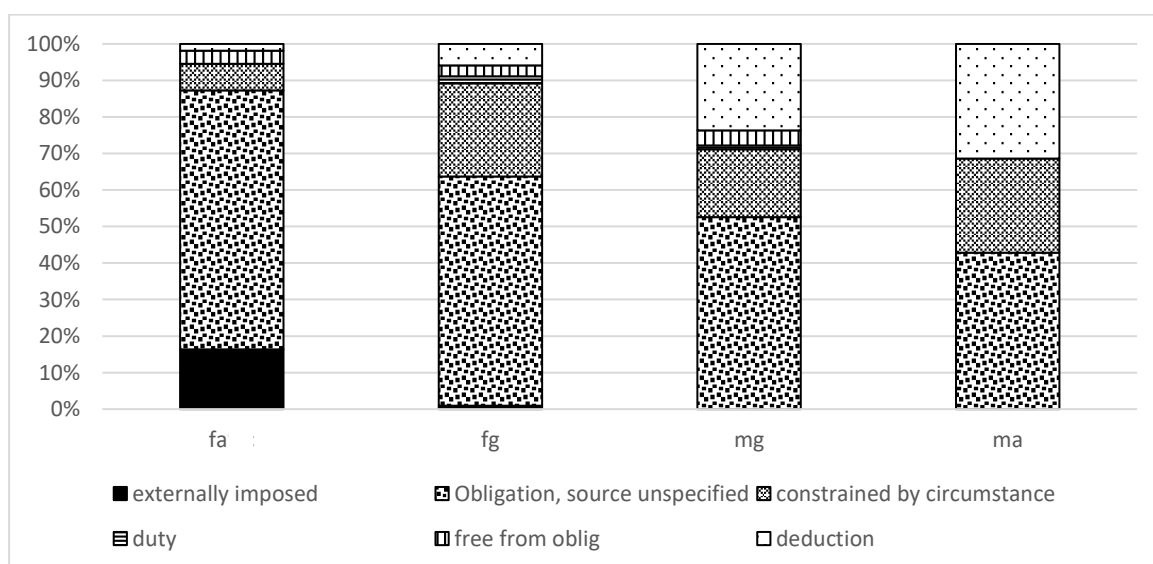
Figure 6.5

Nature and source of Obligation imposed on referent, expressed as percentages of total obligation for each corpus. Deduction is not a form of obligation, although it is expressed with the same lexemes here and accounts for the remaining obligation data for each corpus

Summary and discussion of authority and obligation

Most examples of external obligation in both Australian corpora were formed with agentless passives.

 while strength of externally imposed obligation was highest for *FA* and lowest for *MA*, the latter having the highest levels of 'constrained by circumstance' which indicates relatively low responsibility attributed to *MA* referents. The fact that *The Guardian* corpora had the highest strengths of obligation attributed to the referents possibly reflects lower authoritarianism in the comments, and more autonomy to referents, but does not clearly reflect a gender difference in legitimation.

Topics and intensity in the predicates of these clauses were examined, revealing the most common topics to be 'employment'(*continue/cease*), 'exclusion', 'actions of referent', and what I have labelled 'suggested actions toward referent'.

Examination of sources of obligation and necessity revealed that for all corpora except *MA*, obligation of referents was predominantly represented as internal, or a duty of the referent. While externally imposed obligation was relatively infrequent in *FA*,, it consisted largely of agentless passive, followed by obligation by government, again indicating high status legitimation, which may reflect intensification of legitimation strategies. *FA* also showed a correspondingly lower level of 'constraint by circumstance', possibly emphasizing the need for authoritarian intervention. Strong external obligation (e.g., *must, is compulsory*) was highest in the two female corpora, and lowest in *MA.* Female corpora also demonstrated higher use of legal authority in external obligation, while in the male corpora, political party obligations were higher. The invocation of law is consistent with findings on Crime in Chapter 5 and may reinforce the notion that the greater the challenge to current cultural standards, the higher the level of legitimation by authority sought.

 while both Australian corpora had the highest level of agentless passives. The reason for the high level of agentless passives is unknown, but as agentless passives present a form of proclamation or pronouncement, this may reflect perceived lower distance between the

commenter and the politician in terms of authority. Alternatively, by presenting judgements as facts, the commenters may be evoking the most unquestionable legitimation.

The Guardian corpora showed a wider range of authorities for externally imposed obligation, from voters through to colleagues. This more finely grained use of external authority may be explained as lower generalisation or greater attention to appropriate sources of authority rather than drawing on the highest level possible.

Regarding authority by party members, this may reflect a higher granularity and lower generalisation of authority figures in the male corpora.

In terms of the obligations of referents, this was highest in *The Guardian* for both strong obligation and 'constraint by circumstances', while the *FA* corpus showed markedly lower levels of the category 'Free from obligation'. Again, a wider, more apposite definition of authority may be represented in *The Guardian* corpora, and the opposite reflected in *FA*, where authority is concentrated in one source at the more intensive and extreme level.

6.7   Chapter Summary and Conclusions

Regarding judgement of the referents, for females in both publications, appraisal appeared to be polarised. On the one hand, high frequency of inscribed judgement in adjectives to describe female referents suggests low perception of need to conceal or mitigate appraisal, on the other, the high frequency of negative judgement in counterfactual clauses indicates attempts by commenters to obscure their attitude. These findings may be reconciled if the function of counterfactuals is interpreted as mimicking facticity as proposed by Roese (1997), rather than mitigating judgement. In this case both commenter strategies may serve to strengthen their arguments for readers. The frequent employment of litotes in judgements of females may be seen as a mitigatory strategy but could also be interpreted as presenting what the referent is not. That is, the frequently nominated judgements such as *not intelligent, not professional* may also represent commenter attitude that female referents cannot be assumed to possess such qualities. Conversely, the relatively frequent use of the judgement *stupid* for male referents could represent more severe judgement, or alternatively, a strategy to delegitimise the male referent where flaws were perceived. However, in contrast to the female corpora,

for males, there is a notable absence of mention of consequences for this perceived flaw, as discussed in Chapter 5.5. Males may also have been held to less rigid standards, hence mentions of human failings were less likely to be exclusionary. This strategy may be mirrored in the frequent mitigation of judgement in comments on alcohol misuse within parliament and the far greater frequency of adjectives that described everyday activities in parliament (*legal, statutory, general*) as well as mild negative judgement such as *'surely he is aware that'* which enable uncertainty about knowledge rather than infused negative judgement. In any case, it is clear that strategies with such devices of judgement clearly differed by gender.

The high level of infused negative adjectives applied to females relative to males further supports greater severity of judgement relative to comments on males in *The Australian*. Infused negative judgement of males, was however, high for *The Guardian*, although adjectives tended to cluster around weakness (*sad, poor, gutless*), while for females they appeared to have a common theme of noticeability or excess (*deafening, blatant, screaming, serial*). This again may represent a persistence of gender stereotypes, with males valued for strength and females for quietness and propriety. Nonetheless, comments in *The Guardian* frequently expressed admiration and intensified positive adjectives, indicating both legitimation of females in political roles but also some need to defend this legitimacy.

The issue of sexism or lack thereof toward female politicians was highly topical for much of the period of this study, but its definition varied widely. Comments in this theme frequently demonstrated intensified, often infused judgement, indicating wide polarisation of views. Commenters in *The Australian* frequently presented sexism as a symmetrical concept, where any judgement which mentioned gender could be offensive and discriminatory, and incidentally expressed the same belief towards mention of skin colour. Such a difference excludes many premises upon which concepts of discrimination are based, such as differing access to opportunity and prestige. Extending on this attitude were the comments that judged discussion of sexism as unworthy of the business of parliament, again excluding the possibility that discrimination might greatly affect lived experience. Representation of sexist and feminist dialogue as an ideological fashion further support the above conclusions, and at the most sceptical end, present reference to feminism and sexism as a tactical move to gain unfair advantage, as seen in the metaphor of *the gender card*. This is contrasted by strong support

in Guardian that discrimination on the basis of femaleness was real and damaging, often expressed in highly intensified language, indicating the strength of feeling of the many commenters who endorsed this argument.

Meanwhile discussion around alcohol also revealed polarised attitudes. Many comments mitigated judgement through euphemism, informal tone and reference to a manly drinking culture indicative of popularity and mateship, while the consequences of drinking were frequently mitigated. Disapproval was also clearly present, however, and comments revealed use of the same strategy of reference to taxpayers' time and money wasted. Also, the behaviour of 'drinking referents' was compared with other leaders in the workplace indicating evaluation on moral grounds. However, few disapproving commenters used infused intensification in lexis indicating a mild reaction relative to that towards money, females and crime.

Examination of obligation appeared to reveal a stronger effect by publication than gender with *The Guardian* comments revealing far higher self-imposed obligation, or possibly a less authoritarian and individualistic attitude toward responsibility. Two interesting trends were revealed in *The Australian*: diminished self-imposed obligation for males, with a trend toward higher levels of 'constrained by circumstance' and higher, more extreme externally imposed obligation for females. Again, this may arise from a perception in *The Australian* that males are 'normal and natural' and thus legitimised within the political role, (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.110) while females require direction and external control, the stronger forms of obligation applied to females also indicate strong overall feeling about this issue. The fact that obligation overall was mentioned less frequently for females in *The Australian*, but when mentioned, received a strong reaction, indicates a possible exclusion from an agentive role. In fact, most of the expressions of obligation towards females in *The Australian* were in conjunction with resignation, exclusion, judgement of actions and consequences for her actions.

Overall, the above results indicate clear difference in representation by gender, with only minimal explicit reference to gender or gender stereotypes although these were evident in the nature and relative intensity of the judgements as well as the linguistic devices employed such as litotes, counterfactuals and negativity of adjectives, indicating a more stative or permanent nature in the negative judgements applied to females.

The next chapter is the final chapter of the thesis. It discusses the results of the previous three chapters in terms of devices of appraisal / stance and concludes that all research questions were supported except that of use of representation through traditional gender stereotypes.

CHAPTER 7   Discussion

7.1   Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis. My research asked if there were consistent patterns of representation of politicians which differed by gender and if so, how females were predominantly constructed relative to males in reader comments to newspapers, both thematically and linguistically. It also explored whether women were represented by commenters as unsuitable for leadership, and whether traditional gender roles were invoked to discredit women's ability to lead.

Reader comments appended to articles in two online newspapers were studied both quantitatively and qualitatively. Comments were selected by accessing as many articles as possible with a male or female politician's name in the headline of articles that had comments attached. From these articles, 13 male and 15 female politicians were selected based on the criterion that they had at least 500 comments with their name in them for each publication; from these, more prominent individuals were selected first, such as Prime Ministers and cabinet members, with an attempt to balance the status of roles for each gender. Where comments for a politician were numerous, comment threads were selected at the most evenly spaced intervals obtainable across the sampling period 2013 – 2018. The result was four corpora: one male, one female from each of the publications *The Guardian* and *The Australian* in which comments were summated by gender.   After initial quantitative analysis and identification of major themes, the corpora from each publication were combined and identifying names replaced with *man* or *woman* to enable accurate identification of collocations and other linguistic features such as intensification, judgement and emotional expression by gender rather than by individual.

The original two *Australian* corpora, *FA* and *MA*, were highly congruent in terms of number of comments, mean comment length and type-token ratio. For *The Guardian*, the same congruency was not found. Comments were on average 50 to 100% longer in *The Guardian* than comments in *The Australian*: average comments on females in *The Guardian* being the longest. Prominent themes and Key Concepts showed many similarities by gender across the

two publications, but with greater quantitative differences between genders in *The Australian* than *The Guardian.* Overall*,* comments to *The Guardian* showed fewer differences in Key Concepts and more differentiation by frequency for gender.

The first research question asked if there were consistently different profiles of representation for male and female political leaders and was well supported. The far higher numbers of identical Key Concepts between the two female corpora indicate relative uniformity of themes and topoi used to represent females: a difference notably less prominent for males, which is consistent with. greater stereotyping or generalisation for female referents. Consistent patterns of scarcity of comments on women relative to males within the Key Concepts of politics and policy were in agreement with the literature on omission/inclusion of politicians by gender, especially the findings of van der Pas and Aaldering (2020) and Joshi et al. (2020). Recurrent topoi which represented female politicians as preoccupied with the extraneous rewards of their professional station implied that women's motivations to enter politics were for personal rather than public benefit, in agreement with Joshi et al's concept of women politicians as 'violators' (2020). There was a notable deficit in representation of female politicians in topics of policy and serving the public, Also, those Key Concepts which were consistently more frequent in the female corpora, exhibited frequent aggravation, or intensification, in representation of disapproved actions, which were frequently expressed as morally degraded. In contrast, for males, evaluations within the same Key Concepts were less frequent and showed a greater use of mitigation and reasoning, or rationalisation.

The high level of omission of women from discussion of governance/politics issues is a prominent aspect of the differential treatment of males and females and consistent with earlier findings (Joshi et al., 2020; van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020). This finding is also consistent with the concept of 'othering' (Spivak, 1985), within which omission is the most prominent feature. The finding that females were more frequently constructed as motivated by financial rewards and misusing public funds may be related to traditional gender stereotypes such as viewing ambitious women as 'gold diggers' or a traditional view of money as primarily in the male domain, within which women are interlopers. Alternatively, it may relate to strategic attempts by commenters, conscious or otherwise, to represent female

politicians as unsuitable in key aspects of their duties, such as spending monetary allowances and making decisions about public spending.

The second research question asked how male and female politicians were constructed in comments and found that commenters attributed largely negative personal qualities to them, such as dishonesty and greed, although this was far more frequent and intensified for females, especially in *The Australian*. Regarding values, female politicians were more frequently constructed as self-serving and calculating in their motivations. Female actions were accordingly represented as tactical rather than based on commitment to their political efficacy. Construction of politicians as unethical or even criminal was common for females in both publications, but more pronounced in *The Australian*. This characterisation was rare for males in *The Guardian* and absent in *The Australian*.

Linguistically much of the difference in construction of males and females was realised through graduation, with greater intensification and saturation, or alternatively omission from topics of governance. Devices also included supposition, presupposition and exaggeration about female character and actions. Such representation was found for only one male in the study, who was regularly associated with effeminacy and homosexuality suggesting ongoing commitment among some commenters to traditional, binary gender stereotypes.

The third research question asked if there was evidence that women were regarded as unsuitable for leadership and was supported, although most examples were of implicit judgement in the form of accusations that represented the individual referent as unsuitable for her role. This study found few direct or literal judgements of women as unsuitable for leadership, and both males and females were frequently criticised for political decisions and actions. However, the frequent accusations of unethical and criminal activity may be interpreted as an opposite strategy for delegitimising a politician within their role. Further, calls for sacking of female referents were significantly more frequent, indicating a perception of inadequacy. More concrete evidence was mentioned for females where misdemeanours were alleged, while for males, reports of alleged misdemeanours in deployment of money or excess alcohol intake were more frequently met with mitigation, generalised description and defence from commenters. There were marked exceptions to these judgements in *The Guardian*. Three referents, Gillard, Wong and Triggs were praised and vociferously defended

by commenters more frequently than they were condemned, which may reflect a sector of the readership that either prefers female leadership or does not take gender into account in their assessment. Rising preference for female politicians was found recently in a meta-analysis by Schwarz and Coppock (2020). They looked at aggregated results of experiments on gender preference experiments in the USA. Such experiments manipulate the gender of notional candidates with identical profiles to assess voter reactions. Their study found that femaleness conveyed a small advantage with centrist to left voters, while the opposite was true among centrist to right voters, a finding which is in fact borne out in this study, given the political allegiances of the two newspapers.

The final research question asked whether traditional gender roles were used to discredit women's ability to lead and was only partly supported. References to traditional gender stereotypes were not prominent in this study. Overt sexism in the form of naming gender as a reason for suitability or performance in the job was greatly reduced relative to earlier studies conducted on mainstream media articles. Such studies detailed frequent personalisation and attention to appearance, family and mothering roles. However, aspects of traditional gender stereotypes persisted, the most prominent being in the referents' relationship to family, which was backgrounded for males, with minimal detail, and foregrounded for females, especially regarding their offspring. Clothing also featured as prominent for females in *The Guardian*, with highly intensified negative judgement of female referents who wore expensive and exclusive clothing, a topos minimal in commentary on males, where the focus was on dispreferred styles of dress rather than excess. A handful of comments to *The Guardian* indirectly indicated that interest in fashion made females unsuitable for leadership by suggesting the referent would be more appropriately employed as a fashion designer. There was some evidence that traditional gender-based characteristics were alluded to in order represent males as more suitable for leadership than females. These consisted of the many references to strength and courage or lack thereof when evaluating male referents, while these qualities were not referred to for females. Regarding qualities of female politicians, referents were not evaluated either way for traditional female qualities such as gentleness or nurturing. Instead, female politicians were frequently criticised for the opposite of these characteristics: loudness, excess and violence, which may be seen as an implicit reference to

traditionally preferred female characteristics or a disapproval of stereotypically male qualities in females leaders.

7.2　　　Traditional Gender Stereotypes

The premise that politics is a gendered and predominately male occupation (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003a, 2003b; Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020; Johnson, 2015) was well supported. This was less evident in the denotation of words and phrases than in arguments and semantic intensification in comments on each gender. Female politicians were more strongly judged than males for behaviours which did not adhere to traditional gender stereotypes, such as aggression, loudness, avarice and stepping outside traditionally female roles. However, it is of note that while female referents were frequently judged for such transgressions, overt criticism on the basis of transgressing traditional gender roles was all but absent. Results suggest that commenters avoided direct references to sex role expectations where females were concerned but not for male politicians, for whom masculinity was frequently challenged by feminising topoi including references to *bridesmaids, brides, mummy's boys, his boyfriend* and wearing of female clothing. Again, a strongly traditional concept of politics as a male domain is indicated, associating femininity with weakness and using it as a topos to censure male politicians.

Much of the representation of the genders alluded not to traditional gender roles but what could be termed implicit gender associations. Over-representation in passive and victim roles, less frequent discussion of females than males and general representation with a narrower range of word types indicate continued marginalisation, albeit not obvious on a case-by-case basis. Such findings are consistent with those of Pearce (2008), indicating that female referents were evaluated using traditional gender paradigms, but reference was largely indirect. The references to appearance and clothing, relatively infrequent compared to research from ten to fifteen years ago, (Donaghue, 2013; Lundell & Ekström, 2008; Markstedt, 2007; Sanghvi & Hodges, 2015; Stein, 2008) may reflect commenter avoidance of public censure for violation of socially proscribed standards of discrimination. Such avoidance superficially represents female politicians as on an equal footing with males while in fact gender-mediated biases persist. That mentions of female, but not male politicians' clothing

was higher in *The Guardian* may reflect an association of clothing and adornment with privilege and wealth, also possibly indicating disapproval of female politicians' access to financial resources. It may also reflect commenters' negative reactions to female politicians on the right of politics for adhering to traditional gender roles. Clothing-themed comments about female politicians in *The Guardian* were characterised by intensification, infused judgement, hyperbole and saturation, much as was found in money-themed comments for females in *The Australian*. This suggests a persistence of longstanding concerns around females and economic privilege, expressed in the more acceptable criticism of frivolous use of funds on personal adornment by a privileged class.

One of the most explicit references to traditional gender roles was the frequently employed moniker of 'handbag hit squad' in relation to females. Apart from placing women as outsiders in politics by emphasising gender over individual characteristics, it compares them with an iconic female politician forty years in the past (Ponton, 2010). This metonym recalls the topos of Margaret Thatcher's weaponization of her handbag (Broussine, 2015; Conway, 2016). The scarcity of references to stereotyped, traditional female qualities, such as gentleness and inclusiveness, or the advantages of traditional female duties of housekeeping and budgeting, is in sharp contrast with Ponton's (2010) findings about the representations of Thatcher. His study of press reporting and televised speeches found that Thatcher capitalised on the advantages of a feminine approach to politics, and she emphasised her role as a homemaker and wife as advantageous to politics, while dismissing or underplaying any suggestions that being female made a difference to her ability to lead. It appears therefore that, at least in Australia, the supposition that 'female' qualities can be valued in leadership has been neglected or overturned. Little evidence was found for attention to or valuing of traditional female characteristics although many women have successfully served in Australian Parliament in the intervening four decades. Continued undervaluing of femaleness is notable in the comments to *The Guardian* about Prime Minister Gillard, who appeared knitting in an article in a Women's magazine. Several comments were supportive of the legitimacy of this appearance, noting that male politicians often feature in the press partaking in more masculine pursuits such as cycling (O'Reilly, 2013) and firefighting (Abbott, 2020). Although many supported Gillard's media appearance as a knitter, similar numbers were condemnatory, arguing that such domestic roles were not a fitting representation of a Prime

Minister. This could be seen as a clear gender-mediated double standard and indicates a predominance of male values within politics.

As will be outlined in the next section, alleged neglectful parenting by female politicians continues to attract strong social disapproval, a finding echoed by Gerrits et al. (2017) and Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, (2020) in their respective studies of women in political leadership.

7.2.1 'Kin'

Unlike earlier studies, and as with clothing, reference to family was rarely explored from the point of view of human interest in any of the four corpora, but rather, to expound a position or argument about the politician. Of all Key Concepts, 'Kin' most closely reflected traditional gender roles. As noted in Chapter 5, subthemes 'immediate family' and 'intersection of work and family' dominated in comments on female politicians. In these themes, commenters reacted to the impact of family on the politicians' work, from the point of view of lost time at work or use of public funds to support family activities. Moral evaluation was also prominent in this theme and may represent an attempt to delegitimise the female politician in her role through reference to character flaws. The strongest infused negative judgements were found regarding possible neglect of offspring, with associated shame. The minimal association of female politicians with policy decisions surrounding family again shows lack of attention to women as policymakers. Discussion around the combined themes of family and policy was more frequent for females in *The Australian* than *The Guardian*. This initially appears surprising, but the policy issues classified as 'family' largely surrounded same sex marriage, possibly reflecting the stronger reaction among conservative-leaning commenters and the fact that the conservative government was in power for the period in which the sample was taken. That the fewest comments on family related policy were found for female politicians in *The Guardian* by contrast, appeared to reflect a relative lack of concern around possible disruption to traditional family structures through same sex marriage. The paucity of comments in *The Australian* regarding female politicians and extended family may reflect the predominant arguments in that theme, which centred around 'family pedigree' in politics. References to extended family for males in both publications were dominated by comments about family connections, while for females, comments on extended family were fewer in number and centred around the female referent's position as daughter. This reinforces the notion of

women as outside the political sphere since female politicians, like males, also frequently descend from families with a prominent history in politics.

That female referents in this study were more frequently associated with their nuclear families in the form of husbands and children or their lack thereof is in line with previous literature about press representation of both women in general and women in politics (Eagly and Karau, 2002; Norris & Arbor, 2007; Rudman et al., 2012; Rudman, et al., 2013; Trimble, 2017). In *The Australian*, the predominance of comments about immediate family at the intersection of work and family, support the notion that offspring and family are largely regarded as the responsibility of female referents. The higher intensification in such comments for females further indicates strong attention to a traditional female role. This was mirrored in *The Guardian*, where comments about immediate family dealt with family responsibility for females while comments on males were less intensified and predominantly metaphorical.

Furthermore, parent absence due to political commitments and its possible negative impact on children was a frequently raised theme for female referents but not once for males. Females were frequently commented on in their roles as wives, mothers and daughters, where evaluation was largely limited to their capacity to fulfil these roles, given their professional responsibilities. By contrast the almost entirely metaphorical references to family roles for males, appeared to reflect derisively on their relationships with other politicians. References to *mummy's boy* or being related to notorious dictators such as Goebbels indicate that mention of immediate family for males is undertaken either to infantilise or to locate them within a social grouping. The lack of references to male family life indicates that the immediate family role is irrelevant to or inappropriate for male politicians.

Commenters also showed greater preoccupation with the impact of immediate family on female politicians' ability to carry out their professional role, and whether this responsibility influenced females' use of government allowances and funds. While one male referent was a notable exception as his use of government allowances to visit family was widely commented upon, the degree of intensification and judgement overall was far lower, and commenters' arguments were based on evidence and rationalisation.

All of the above suggest that active roles within the immediate family are required for female politicians, but not for male. Further, they suggest the very traditional view that by pursuing a political career, females endanger not only their own family but the existence of the family at a societal level. This was further reflected in a number of comments which opined neglect and cruelty toward family by female referents, as in the case of Triggs' disabled daughter, or an attitude of outright animosity towards the family, as attributed to Gillard and reflected in comments on Gillard's policies on family matters. References in the male corpus to family connections reinforce a very different representation of their role within the family. Family origins denote fitness or competence for the job for males, but as seen in the infantilising metaphorical comment about *Bronwyn* Bishop *as Abbott's mummy*: family responsibilities should not have impact on day-to-day political life.

7.2.2   Labels and Appearance

Regarding physical appearance and terms used to refer to female politicians, there were several departures from the findings in earlier literature. Firstly, physical appearance was rarely mentioned in *The Australian* nor were references made to clothing. In contrast, clothing was widely discussed in comments to *The Guardian,* and comments were unanimously disapproving, mostly of what was described as frivolous waste, a symbol of wealth and excess and frequent strongly negative moral evaluations. Such topoi recall those arising in *The Australian* regarding spending of government funds

Donaghue (2013) has discussed reference to appearance as a 'placeholder' (para. 6) for gender discrimination because it draws attention to female difference within the male dominated workplace, and hence invites other gender-based criticism. The relative paucity of appearance-based discussion in this study indicates a shift away from this particular gender stereotype in contrast to past stereotypes about female referents and parenting. On the other hand, the lack of attention to appearance for males indicates that Donaghue's (2013) premise may also be valid here.

The findings in this study regarding family responsibilities and appearance/ clothing appear most closely aligned with those of Joshi et al., (2020) whose study of the representation of female politicians in headlines around the world, compared those of the West with Asia and

Africa.   Their study places both illicit spending and clothing under the theme of 'violator': women as outsiders in a male space, both themes being incongruent with the role of political leader. They found a greater emphasis on clothing and appearance in Western newspapers, which had markedly tailed off in the years between 1997 and 2015, reaching similar levels to those outside the west. Discourse regarding family and offspring however, remained frequent, indicating this topic is of special concern and resilient to change in the discussion around female politicians. It is difficult to discern why the earlier preoccupation with appearance persist in *The Guardian*, but not *The Australian*. Commenters in *The Guardian* may have reacted to the more traditional adoption of high standards of personal grooming by female politicians because it suggests adherence to traditional gender roles and therefore connotes conservatism in the female referent, as well as economic privilege. Donaghue's argument, that attention to fashion undermines the legitimacy of women in politics, (2013) and that of Joshi et al. (2020) can be seen as in fact reconcilable. Firstly, evaluations are drawn from a range of members of the public who will vary in their degree of traditionalism. Secondly the very prominent public disapproval of media attention to appearance, as seen in the case of Gillard (Doran, 2018; Freedman, 2010; Goodall, 2013) Clinton (Honig, 2016) and May (Fox, 2016) possibly provoked a tailing off of attention to fashion and appearance in the west.

Another aspect of more traditional gender representation is the use of forms of address. Results for *The Australian were* similarly at odds with earlier literature as the use of *Miss* or *Mrs* was almost absent, while female politicians were most frequently referred to as *Ms.(surname)* or by titles such as *Dr.* and *Professor*. Such patterns were not found in *The Guardian,* where a range of surnames, first name only, first and surnames and title plus surname were used for both male and female referents in similar numbers. As with references to clothing by gender, this reinforces the contention that commenters to *The Australian* adhered to 'politically correct' standards, or alternatively naming practices more closely aligned to traditional practices, where women are rarely referred to by surname alone.

Finally, it appears consistent that aspects of traditional gender role evaluation should persist in the evaluation of politicians because gender is a marked and fundamental aspect of judgement. Lakoff (2003), notes that the Clintons in their lifestyles and values tended to confuse gender roles, attracting a 'peculiarly visceral hatred' (p.164). In this study, the few

direct references to gender role confusion in the comments were marked by ridicule. For example, referring to Sally McManus: *why did they give their son a girl's name?* Similarly, *Attorney* General George Brandis was frequently associated with cross dressing and female roles, although no evidence for such behaviour on his part was noted. Another response to violation of gender roles was the powerful contempt and negative judgement directed toward female referents for alleged child neglect or mistreatment.

7.3 Implicit attitudes

7.3.1 Topoi

This study posits that the major topoi applied to female politicians in both publications primarily operated to delegitimise women in their political role, by associating them with activities and values inconsistent with honest governance, such as fiscal dishonesty and criminal activity. This was achieved frequently through application of double standards, such as the minimal negative evaluation of fiscal misuse by male politicians in contrast to females. It was also evident for female referents in the use of increased detail about times, circumstances and specific consequences as well as the emphasis on the victims of female referents and the sources of the money they spent. Overall, negative evaluations of females on such topics were again greatly intensified but expressed in mitigating language for males.

Topoi within 'money' centred around the source of the money spent and referent salary, legitimacy of spending, source of money, whether private, government or taxpayers. For male politicians, spending was more frequently commented on in relation to executing policy.

Comments on female politicians frequently focused on unfavourable activities, which were extraneous to the main professional duties of the politician. Julie Bishop, foreign affairs minister was largely discussed in terms of her history of legal work for the asbestos industry, where she defended asbestos producers against cases raised by their workers. Some attention was given to her actions regarding detention of asylum seekers, but this was less prominent than discussion of her work history. Similarly, a case raised against Gillard regarding her earlier legal work with a Union bank account was also prominent as was Greens Senator Hanson Young's use of government funds on a fact-finding tour, while Bronwyn Bishop and Sussan Ley

were extensively discussed for their use of government funds for travel. What is of interest here is not the legitimacy of the female referent's actions, but the relative absence of exploration of history for male referents.

7.3.2 Threat to family

The subtheme of Threat to family, found largely in comments to *The Australian*, was dominated by powerful negative judgement of female politicians and strongly supports commenter ascription to traditional nuclear family values. Such values are arguably incompatible with women participating in politics since they entail women remaining in the home to raise children.

Spouses/partners and offspring were not only more frequently mentioned in relation to female politicians, but female referents' actions and decisions around them were more frequently judged negatively, especially in *The Australian*. There was also some evidence that females without children or partners were judged as incapable or unwilling to make favourable decisions around parenting and family issues. Comments on male and female referents were polarised on this issue, with females labelled as *evil* and [not] *giv*[ing] *a crap* in relation to either their families or family related policy. Men, by contrast, in the rare references to men and their families, were represented as *worried to their graves* about family issues, specifically female participation in politics. Again, this appears to represent compromised moral standards on the part of women who do not pursue a traditional lifestyle as homemaker and fails to acknowledge the role of male politicians in raising a family.

Regarding spouses and offspring, frequent references were made in *The Australian* to the poor quality of the relationship for females, in terms of lack of responsibility or skill as a mother, or undesirability as a wife. Actions of female referents which provoked the criticism were frequently intensified. A female referent on a work trip was described as in the *middle of the Mediterranean*, emphasising not only distance and remoteness, but possibly also luxury and indulgence. The term *child abuse* was used to describe a female referent taking a child on a work trip. This was also prevalent in comments about female politicians in *The Guardian*. Overall, the interest in female politician's immediate family life demonstrates a persistence of devotion to traditional or biological gender roles, with little to no mention of parenting roles

for males, even the partners of female politicians. Commenter concern around same sex marriage legislation was especially evident in *The Australian*, where traditional gender roles were espoused, which may explain the concern over women working as politicians, and possibly even a tendency to characterise them as morally deviant, as was found in the comments around female politicians and money.

7.3.3   Money

'I believe that until women are making the decisions about where the money goes in those board rooms, things won't be equal until then. For whatever reason the money, that is important. The goal is not the money. I'm saying money is power and to achieve power women have to be dictating where the money goes.'

Joan Jett, Conversations. ABC Radio National, 22 September 2021.

It has been outlined above that relative inclusion/exclusion of referents in comments on the concept of money followed gendered lines. This was reinforced by logistic regression, which revealed that gender was the strongest association with comments on use of money. Further, the percentage of comments concerning money was higher for both female corpora, comment length on money topics was greater for female corpora, but close to the average comment length for males; lexicon in the Key Concept of money had a greater range of types and higher tokens for females, and negative evaluation within comments was markedly higher for females, with positive evaluation correspondingly higher for males. Further, the greater comment length for females with more frequent and more intense evaluative words and phrases indicates more extreme reaction to females on this topic, with more frequent use of self-paraphrasing and extra evidential information possibly aiming to present a more credible argument. Use of hyperbole also noted frequently in comments about money for females indicates stronger affective response by commenters to female activity in the fiscal domain.

The wider range of topoi around money for male referents, indicates a broader range of roles in relation to handling of finances. For females, topoi concerned with 'money' ranged from references to their purportedly high income to questioning of legitimacy of their spending, whether through alleged misuse of employment allowances or government funds. Other

topoi included examination of the source of money: whether private, government or taxpayers. The latter was a strong topos for females in both corpora, occurring twice as often for females as males, as well as *taxpayer* as the source of referents' salary, which was ten times more common for females.

It was of note that comments were far more frequent for males on the subtheme of 'money and policy', or 'spending without mention of the funding source'. In contrast funding source was frequently commented on for females, and frequently as 'taxpayer' comments regarding money payment or allocation rarely mention the source of funds for males, but almost without exception for females.

That males are more frequently mentioned in relation to policy and spending, without reference to the source of the money, may represent again the normality of this role for male referents. Further, where male spending was criticised, it was more frequently phrased as '*[referent] owes taxpayer'*. Spending of taxpayer money is thus represented as an incomplete transaction, rather than an absolute deprivation of taxpayer funds, and hence is interpretable as mitigation. Also, while male referents were more frequently mentioned as spending money, female referents were more frequently mentioned as victimising taxpayers or depriving them of funds. Also, the theme of 'taxpayers as the source of male salary' was mentioned at a far lower frequency than for females, even though male referents' income was a far more frequent topic of conversation. Omitting the source of high male salaries effectively presents males as natural and therefore legitimate within the role of earner and financial decision maker, whether through creating or actioning policy. Furthermore, evaluative language employed in the topic of male income was notably less judgmental, employing fewer negative judgments and less hyperbole: *handsome salary* vs *massive taxpayer-funded income*. By contrast the far more frequent mentions of females as misusers of funds for personal benefit, the associations with entitlement and the references to taxpayers as the source of female referents' income appear to represent different standards for females: they are represented as unnatural or abnormal in the role of money earner or spender, reducing their legitimacy in access to money and decisions surrounding it relative to males. The topos that female referents are likely to misuse public funds positions the female referent as an outgroup member, evoking themes of low moral standards which accompany exclusion. That female

referents are reminded that they are accountable to taxpayers as salary providers denaturalises and hence delegitimises them from the role of government salary earner, a position in which payment through taxpayer funds is the norm. In terms of accusations of misspending, many more comments called for female referents to repay funds, specifying *from her own pocket*, emphasising personal consequences for alleged misdemeanours. This is consistent with moral sanction, which entails penalty or punishment (Martin & White, 2005, p.52) and is consistent with the higher penalties seen under the subthemes of 'Crime' and 'Employment'. Further, commentary on personal misuse of funds may represent intensification/aggravation of the argument because personal misuse was alluded to for males, but judgement overall was mitigated even though the sums mentioned for males were higher than those spent by females, further reinforcing a double standard.

Overall, the concern over female misuse and abuse of government funds may be seen as delegitimising them in their profession, especially as it precludes the possibility that female referents are in politics to better the situation for the community. Lakoff (2003. p. 164) notes the female form of greed is to want to 'have it all', for which they are sanctioned, while males are not.

Exploration of themes arising within comments on money revealed a strong association between femaleness and perceptions of entitlement, greed, misuse of public funds, and overpayment. Results of Logistic regression on key differentiating concepts for *The Australian* indicate a preoccupation with female politicians' exploitation of their role, consequences of this and need for them to be formally investigated. That gender determined these Key Concepts significantly more than political party further reinforces the stronger connection with gender than political leaning. While it is a fact that there are many more females in parliament from the traditionally left of centre side of politics, this study corrected for this with a balance of genders from each party. Therefore, it is unlikely that findings regarding money, its misuse and the ensuing consequences is related to political allegiance rather than gender.

A body of literature, especially by feminist economists, examines the relationship between money and gender, arguing that money is traditionally regarded as in the male domain (Federici, 2004; Waring, 2003). Waring (2003) argues that female labour such caring and

domestic service are treated as informal, even by the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA), despite pressure from various research bodies. Waring (2003) concludes that the market-based system of capitalism is essentially male as is demonstrated by the increased marginalisation of women in paid work which occurred when neo-liberalism and market-based models spread to developing countries. Federici (2008) further proposes from her studies in Africa, that the rise of monetary relations to their current hegemonic status 'totally devalues' the labour of women and renders it 'unmerchandisable'. Both Federici (2008) and Huber (1986) within her model of gender stratification, to describe how women's labour forms part of an 'informal economy' which is 'invisible' to formal measures of production, and measured only when the government pays women, making it the equivalent of welfare (p.36). Federici (2008) further explains that the gendered economy, which places women in the position of (largely private) welfare recipients, may explain the strong objections by the politically conservative to women's inclusion in positions of fiscal responsibility.

Theorists such as Arendt, (2013) and Hartsock, (1985) argued similarly, several decades ago that in society, money is the transactable equivalent of social power which explains its gendered distribution. More recent research has found that the incompatibility of money with femaleness continues in social beliefs and stereotypes even today. Allen & Gervais, (2017) surveyed 395 female university students in the USA on a range of psychological constructs around gender and other themes such as alcohol use, money, colonialism and stigmatisation of outgroups. They found that participants' attitudes to money and femaleness was consistent with protective paternalism, similar to benevolent sexism, where male control was seen to be acceptable because it was beneficial. Only three years before the sampling began for this study, Williams et al. (2010) surveyed 72 undergraduates, finding that they consistently associated lower incomes with female subjects than males. Rather than reflecting participant awareness of the national wage gap, they hypothesised that participants overestimated the value of male work over female to society through a stereotype that links maleness naturally with wealth.

If wealth and money remain as essentially masculine within the public perception, even unconsciously, then the violation of gender boundaries which occurs when women manage

fiscal resources is likely to provoke hostility and suspicion in the public. It is also likely, of course that commenters were influenced by the frequency with which the publications themselves select the theme of female politicians misusing money. The extent to which commenters were influenced by the nature of the reporting in the two publications has not been explored here. However, the evidence of a more subdued reaction to similar scenarios with a male referent, Senator Matthias Cormann, in *The Guardian*, suggests that at least some of the strength of reactions can be explained by persisting community beliefs and values. Another possible explanation is that such themes as politicians' misspending of public money are highly effective triggers for public disapproval. Hence the pursuit of this theme would represent a well-aimed attack on a politician's honesty and legitimacy, and represents a strategy more frequently used against females in politics, while the source of disapproval may truthfully lie in her gender rather than her fiscal management.

7.3.4   Crime and Punishment

'Lock her up'
Crowd chant about Hillary Clinton at President Donald Trump's campaign rally in Toledo, Ohio (Cillizza, 2020)

'Not far from here, such marches, even now are being met with bullets, but not here in this country.'
Scott Morrison, Prime Minister of Australia on the protest rallies against sexual harassment and sexual violence toward female staff members in parliament (SBS News, 15 March, 2021)

While 'crime' as a Key Concept was significantly higher for females only in *The Australian*, the proportion of the referents for whom crime was mentioned for both female corpora was higher than for the male corpora. Only one male was repeatedly associated with Crime in *The Guardian*, compared to five females, and no males in *The Australian*. It is therefore evident that commenters were more likely to associate female politicians with crime than males in this sample and is in contradiction with the findings of Pearce's study of gender representation in The British National Corpus (2007). Pearce's finding that maleness was more frequently associated with crime was based on a corpus of a wide variety of publications including newspaper reports, periodicals, journals and fiction (The British National Corpus, Version 3, 2007). Statistics for crime in Australia in the period 2010 to 2020 in fact reflect Pearce's findings, because gender proportions for crime have been stable since 2008, and on average, female offence rates were 25% of all proceedings by Police, of which 84% of female arrests

were for illicit drug use, leaving only 4% of all charges nationally related other forms of crime (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Further, within the field of political science, research refutes the notion of that gender is in fact a neutral factor in corruption or misuse of political privileges. Esarey et al. (2019) examined the relationship between gender of politicians and political/financial corruption for all politicians in 76 countries over a 100-year period to 2010. They found that not only were women in politics less likely to be involved in corrupt or unethical behaviours, but also that increased numbers of women in politics led to decreased corruption in the government.

Both within Australia and beyond, therefore, it should be expected that male politicians outnumber females in terms of being reported for crimes Hence the results found on discussion of criminal/ unethical behaviours by female politicians are in opposition to the facts. Another possible explanation is that similar to the strong reactions found in comments in the Key Concept of money, association of females with crime may reflect a negative social esteem by commenters, since female participation in unethical/criminal matters is aberrant. The resulting social sanction, due to lack of propriety according to Martin and White's (2005) model may lead to negative evaluation and hence to over-extension of a number of socially sanctioned qualities or behaviours to the referents. This is consistent with Spivak's findings for non-traditional women in India, and also her interpretation of the nature of 'othering' (Spivak, 2017).

The theme emerging in the combined comments on female political leaders, that they are more prone to misuse government funds than male leaders, could also be interpreted as a form of projection in psychological terms. Projection is a rejection by the ego of qualities in oneself or one's own cohort which are unacceptable, and the subsequent association of these undesirable qualities with a disfavoured group (Rohleder, 2014). This interpretation is not only consistent with social stratification and othering but strengthened by the predominance of irrealis verbs, intensification and hyperbole in accusations of female misconduct. In the absence of verifiable reported events, it is possible that commentators tended to confabulate the actions of female politicians and create scenarios where these might be prosecuted and punished as was evident in several comments in this study (see Chapter 5). Trindade, (2020) found similar themes of dishonesty in Facebook comments about successful black women on

Brazilian social media, concluding that such women were represented as trespassers on the white space, who were regarded as infiltrating it for nefarious purposes.

Moreover, accusation of moral decadence against politicians by their opponents is a well-documented strategy to undermine electoral popularity. For example, Bhatia et al. (2018) compared trait representation in newspapers of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the 2016 election, finding that newspapers sympathetic to one candidate perceived moral failings in the other. It is conceivable that such a strategy is applied more frequently to women due to commenter perception that they are unsuitable for political office. Van Dijk (2017) produced similar findings in his investigation of newspaper representation of Dilma Rousseff, former President of Brazil, who was constructed by the media as morally decadent and compromised, an action which Van Dijk (2017) argues lead to her eventual impeachment. Similarly, several studies of the 'gender card' metaphor found that use of feminist appeals by female politicians was represented as an illegitimate attempt to gain unfair advantage, rather than to highlight perceived discrimination. Lim's, (2009) study of metaphors in the media around Hillary Clinton found that they were preoccupied with wickedness, unlikability and lack of adherence to societal and legal standards. Hillary Clinton in fact related that at a certain point, public criticisms of her performance accused her of a limitless array of misdemeanours and moral shortcomings (Gillard & Okonjo-Iweala, 2020). According to A'Beckett, (2012) Yulia Tymoshenko, former Prime Minister of Poland was similarly demonised by the press as an overly ambitious and aggressive warrior, constructing her as a kind of antithetical Joan of Arc who, rather than fortifying the sovereignty of her country, undermined it. Tymoshenko was impeached for corruption over a deal for gas supply from Russia and tried in a criminal court Her sentencing met with international criticisms from the USA and the European union as falsified, and was later overturned (Füle, 2012).

Alternatively, it may reflect a double standard in evaluation of gender performance, whereby females are held to higher standards (Foschi, 1996; Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999), although the above two studies did not examine moral standards. One study examining moral evaluation of politicians by gender was Eggers et al. (2018) who hypothesise that female politicians are 'placed on a pedestal' and generally perceived as more law abiding and community focused. Any suspicion of wrongdoing therefore attracts a more powerful reaction

and stronger condemnation. The intensified nature of suggested penalties for crime for females supports the notion that improper use of government funds deserves greater punishment in women or represents a greater deviation from expectations. However, there is little evidence in the results of my study which support elevation of females to a 'pedestal' but rather, commenter recommendations of jailing, sacking and even violence suggest a lower esteem for female politicians, just as harsher penalties are associated with the misdemeanours of low-esteem groups (Fiske et al., 2010). Likewise, social psychologists Glick and Fiske (1997) contend that the misfortunes undergone by individuals of lower social status are frequently blamed on personal failings, as was seen in the case of Gillard and commenters' arguments surrounding sexism. This is further supported by the frequent indirectness and mitigation in the reporting of alleged misdemeanours by male politicians, with corresponding intensification and calls for imprisonment or sacking for females, as well as the fact that intensification of lexicon for misdemeanours for women meant that a greater proportion of alleged misdemeanours were presented as crossing the line from unethical to criminal.

In terms of social scripts, the higher standards of conduct that are evidently applied to female politicians may represent a more communally focused role for women as nurturant and gentle in leadership roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002); traits which the authors propose as prescriptive rather than descriptive. This contrasts with prescriptive male leadership roles: 'assertive, controlling and confident' (Eagly and Karau, 2002, p.574). Female use of public funds for private benefit directly contradicts a communally focused role but may be seen as more tolerable in males. In fact, Joshi et al's (2020) study of framing of female members of parliament by mainstream newspapers, found a widespread representation internationally of female parliamentarians as more honest and less prone to corruption which is a direct contraction of the findings of my study. Hence, a cynical interpretation of my findings would argue that members of the public are aware of this perception and therefore actively seek to undermine a perceived female advantage.

Vocabulary used to describe crime/ lack of ethics for female referents in *The Australian* shows strong values of (im)morality including, *disgraceful, abuser, rorter, traitor, conspiracy, betrayal, corrupt, evil*. For males, by contrast, the dominance of vocabulary such as *trick, mischief, unfair, out of line,* connotes play rather than serious misdemeanour. This finding is

again indicative of a double standard, and a perception of greater transgression by women when they fail to keep within agreed guidelines, which may in fact be determined by gender. It appears significant that the only male politicians who received similarly intensified criticism (*evil, corrupt*) was also criticised for effeminacy and described with traditionally female stereotypes. This suggests that in male-dominated politics, the culture of othering ranks femaleness alongside other serious moral failings. It also reflects the tendency to mitigate or soften judgement for males so that actions no longer cross a line from questionable ethics to illegality, a tendency not found in the female corpora. This representation of female referents as lawbreakers is consistent with commenters' calls for imprisonment of the same referents, and the preponderance of detail and intensifying structures such as elaboration, and saturation, which indicate stronger emotion. That corresponding comments regarding imprisonment of male referents were scarcer, indirectly phrased and demonstrating far less emotion is remarkable, although the reason for commenter reluctance to comment directly is not clear. Motivations could include in-group loyalty, fear of negative reactions from other commenters, or fear of reactions from moderators or the law. Whatever the motivation, there was a clear paucity of reservation among a sector of commenters on female imprisonment. Van Leeuwen, (2008) pointed out that discourse is more likely to be direct and more detailed in information and more emotional where the commenter's beliefs and / or values are threatened by those generally perceived to be of lower status, which is consistent with the findings about comments on alleged wrongdoing by female referents here.

7.3.5 Morality

Female politicians were frequently evaluated as lacking in morality, whether through behaviour toward family members, taxpayers, spending of public money or in fact criminal behaviour. Adjectives used to describe female politicians also reflect the same evaluation*: vile, disgusting, evasive, rorting, serial*. Further, as mentioned above, evaluations of female politicians' behaviour frequently include detail about alleged victims, even if as general as *we* or *the taxpayer,* magnifying the effect of alleged actions and creating a sense of solidarity among the commenters. In the Key Concepts of Money and Crime in *The Australian*, commenters frequently argue that the female politician under discussion should provide documentary evidence for the expenditure, further underlining the strength of allegations and

lack of trust in female politicians' ability to execute their role autonomously. The significant Key Concept 'Investigation' for females in *The Australian* related largely to legal pursuit of female referents for alleged misuse of money and supports this contention further.

Moral evaluation is nominated by Martin and White (2005) as a major component of appraisal through judgement while Van Leeuwen analyses it as an application of dominant values of society: violation of moral standards placing the referent outside valued and acceptable standards, especially those of the privileged class. Taking the above researcher's premises, it is likely that the prominence of moral evaluation of female political leaders is an attempt to delegitimise.

Further, moral evaluation is fundamental to the concept of social stratification, as qualities and behaviours disfavoured by the privileged groups are typically represented as immoral although the effect of such qualities and behaviours on public harm or good may be arbitrary (Fiske, 2010). Strategies of social solidarity were evident in comments against the alleged female moral transgressions. These included the numerous uses of we to describe the victims of female politicians' alleged misdemeanours as casualties united in civic ire . Similarly, the more frequent nomination of victims of the crime, arguably serves to place the commenter in a morally superior position, as one who sympathises with the victims of crime.

Much of the lexical choice by commenters further supports the notion of suspicion of guilt of female referents: *pulled into line* – presupposes that the female referent is out of line as does *she is caught out* and explicit judgement in lexical choices such as *rort* and *steal. Serial offender* represents female referents as a type who offends, rather than one who may have engaged in disapproved behaviour, in sharp contrast to the representation of males in the Key Concept of money and also in violence and alcohol abuse. The wider range of females associated by commenters with crime also suggests an overgeneralisation of a topos of immorality, especially given that females in governance make up a far smaller percentage than males, and hence a majority of females in prominent governmental posts were therefore implicated.

Logistic regression associated female gender with crime at a statistically significant level, which further supports the existence of a topos of immorality applied to women in powerful positions. This is explainable by the fact that many dispreferred actions by female referents

were exaggerated or presented hyperbolically to represent illegal actions, in agreement with Culpeper, (1996) that declarations about dispreferred individuals are likely to be aggravated and Martin and White's (2005) analysis that intensification in discourse is an indicator of strong emotion.

Similar themes of moral degradation are well represented in the research on several individual female politicians: Clinton (Lim, 2009; Falk, 2013), Rousseff (van Dijk, 2017), and Tymoshenko (A'Beckett, 2012). Two systematic reviews referred broadly to negative judgements of female politicians from aggregated data. Joshi et al. (2020) supported the label of 'violators' (p.7) for women in politics internationally, while Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020, p.114) referred to judgements of 'negative viability' of female politicians. Hence this study is innovative in exploring the nature of moral judgements of female politicians since no studies were found in the literature which attempted to examine morality and female politicians at a cross sectional rather than individual level, whether from a thematic or linguistic point of view.

7.3.6   Social and Gender Stratification

'Who does she think she is?'
Lakoff, 2003 p.176

Many aspects of the representation of female politicians mirror the predictions of the theory of social stratification about treatment of less prestigious group members: omission, negative judgement, especially concerning females' alleged moral standards and behaviours. As in van Dijk's (1999b) account of Dutch citizens' representation of African immigrants, female politicians in this study were accused of violation of societal moral standards, largely in the absence of evidence or conviction. The association of female referents with turpitude in monetary issues, child rearing practices and crimes generally, often through hyperbole, appears to be consistent with the values of high-status social cohorts rather than directly related to traditional gender stereotypes. However, the severe clash of the above allegations with stereotypes of femaleness as nurturing and honest may explain the stridor of many of the comments, especially in *The Australian*.

As noted in Chapter 2, the concept of social stratification does not predict in-group solidarity, except among the highest social cohorts. Members of society instead are predicted to support

the values of groups above them and reject values of groups below (Fiske, 1993). This would indicate that overall, there will be more negativity toward females because they are underrepresented among cohorts of high executive power across societal groups and institutions. This further underpins the decision not to record the gender of commenters, as the premise was rejected that women would support their own gender in their political judgements. This thesis concerned itself with representation of gender by the population as a whole, within-gender allegiances presenting an extraneous and complicating issue. In fact, predictions of lateral and downwardly aimed aggression, inherent in social stratification, would indicate that high levels of negativity by women towards other females in public roles are very likely (Cikara et al., 2009; Fiske, 2010). Further, social stratification predicts that actions by society members outside their expected roles are likely to be interpreted as unintelligible (Appleby, 2015; Herring, 2003; Lakoff, 2003), and unintelligible actions, according to social stratification, are likely to be interpreted as negative and threatening to social values (Fiske, 2010).

7.4   Omission and inclusion

According to Partington (2014), useful information can be obtained from a corpus by noting omission of topics and characters reasonably expected to be present, and inclusion where the same would not normally be predicted. This seems pertinent for a comparative study such as the present one, where referents hold relatively similar roles and responsibilities. Omission, or 'Invisibility' was also noted to be worldwide in Joshi et al's (2020) study of media representation of female members of parliament.

Overall, women were included in Key Concepts around money, criminality and kin. They were also included more frequently in Key Concepts of an abstract or social nature such as ethics, social actions and states, violence/anger, suitability, and deservingness where men were mostly excluded. Instead, men were included in comments on power (both possession and lack thereof), law and order, politics and alcohol misuse.

Comments on money and kin might be expected to be shared by both sexes, the former being an aspect of the political role, and the latter being an almost universal role. Similarly, one would expect comments on females to include the concept of power, law and politics as

descriptors of their profession. Comparison with the neutral NOW corpus indicated that in fact this was the case, although the frequency of comments so themed was lower for females than males at a statistically significant level.

Predominance of money concepts in the female corpora suggests not only debate or concern over female referents' relationship with public funds but a corresponding lack of concern for that of males. Given that comment is unlikely to be made around situations which are accepted and normal (Partington, 2014), the concept of female referents' budgeting and spending decisions, or even possession of high incomes or work allowances is therefore cast as abnormal. Martin and White, (2005) posit that normality in terms of social practice is an important aspect of social esteem and that negative judgements of social esteem are likely to accompany social sanction, on the grounds of propriety or veracity. The former is evident in judgements of criminality and calls for harsh penalties for female referents seen to have violated principles of social sanction.

Key Concepts of suitability and deservingness arising in female corpora from both publications indicate an interest in whether female referents are equipped for the role of political leader. In fact, these two Key Concepts were higher than the neutral corpus (NOW) (Davies, 2013) for all four corpora, but significantly higher only for females. The prominence of comments on suitability and deservingness for politicians is consistent with Tingle's, (2018) assessment of political leaders as precarious in their elected position. However, that precarity was evidently higher for females, and notably reduced in discussion of male referents in *The Australian*. The theme of suitability and deservingness is consistent with Martin and White's (2005) categories of social esteem, which include normality and capacity and tenacity. Similarly, Van Dijk (2016) in his summary of racist representations noted that normality or its lack, is an important evaluation of locals versus immigrants, as was also noted in van Leeuwen's (2008) examination of discourses surrounding the powerful versus the powerless. Normality therefore seems to be a widespread principle of in-group acceptance.

By contrast, omission of females in Key Concepts 'In Power', 'Losing Power' 'Competitive', 'Law', and 'Parliament' (Furniture, parts of buildings) indicates lower attention to female referents in activities which, unlike crime, are elemental to political life and would be expected to be present. Key Concepts of 'Strong/Weak' and 'Confident / worried' in the male corpus

were absent from female corpora indicating that these are not traits that are relevant to evaluation of female referents. This was further supported by the adjectives which collocated with maleness or femaleness, with fewer governance and leadership concepts associated with females and more personal associations. Further, the scarcity of terms of judgement in adjectives collocating with the male gender indicated a less personalised evaluation in males, and a correspondingly higher personalisation of females, a tendency which was mirrored in the higher and more negative use of counterfactuals and other forms of supposition such as hyperbole for female referents. Likewise, the lack of concepts surrounding personal and social life in the male corpora indicate that this is not a focus for the commenters.

The examination of adjectives collocating with male and female referents also revealed a narrower range of topics of interest for females; the latter having fewer collocations overall, but with higher log likelihoods, and fewer collocations with words in the semantic categories of politics and governance. This presents the possibility that where political issues were mentioned in the female corpora, they lacked association with the referent under discussion. It is not likely to result from the relative scarcity of females in parliament, since the study investigated slightly higher numbers of females than males and matched male and female referents for political role as far as possible. It is however, of note that the government in power during the period of this study had few female members of parliament, while the opposition had more balanced gender ratios, meaning that more of the female referents had shadow ministerial positions. This is likely to have contributed to some extent to omission of female referents from the online comments.

The above omissions from governance and leadership commentary may reflect a persistence of traditional gender stereotypes, with female referents not recognised in their capacity to act effectively as leaders, supported by lack of commenter attention to their gaining or losing power in the political process. Further, the lack of attention to their strength or lack thereof is consistent with traditional gender stereotypes, being of interest for male referents but not females. A corollary of the absence of attention to female referents basic professional duties is the implication that females have not taken political leadership to serve the public, but instead for ulterior motives, which could include access to funds and high incomes.

Meanwhile the paucity of detail on social and personal life for male referents is consistent with traditional models of leadership and is especially prevalent in the Key Concept of kin, where family is associated with inheritance and lineage in males, but home responsibility in females, as discussed in the section 7.2. This is further reinforced by a lack of commentary or judgement of male referents for misuse of funds, which adds evidence to the possibility of different standards in evaluation for male and female referents, where access to high incomes and public funds is normal and hence more tolerated.

The above findings indicate a public representation of males as natural to the role of political leadership, while the relative omission of female referents indicates a representation of female referents as unnatural in the role. This is especially true in *FA* and also evident in *FG*, while several commentators in the latter publication also endorsed and supported the female referents in their role, indicating a difference in readership and a general shift in values for part of the commenting population.

Omission of discussion of female politicians in discussion of core issues and roles in politics may reflect the gendering of politics as male. Several researchers have noted that politics is gendered as male (Johnson, 2015; McElhinny, 2003), placing women by default as outsiders.

McElhinny (2003) in her examination of theories of gender in sociolinguistics argued that society generalises gender-based stereotypes to various institutions, which renders them gendered in terms of their values. Gendering, however, is based on a model which overvalues differences and undervalues similarities between males and females. Gendered institutions will therefore mark those falling outside the gendered standards as 'unintelligible' (p.26). If female politicians' actions in their role cannot be interpreted by the public, they are less likely to attract commentary, commenters instead taking recourse to familiar topoi and scripts: those of individuals involved in politics for personal gain.

Social understandings encapsulated in these omissions and inclusions are that females are an out-group among political leaders, and hence likely to be of lower moral standards, a finding consistent with models of social stratification and Van Leeuwen's (2008) premise that moral standing is a major aspect of legitimacy or alternatively delegitimation.

The above findings recall Van Leeuwen's (2008) reference to the Weberian model of social unity, in which society is unified by common and repeated practices instigated by the elite. It appears that evaluation of males and females in leadership is influenced strongly by expectations and models, rather than individual performance, and that gender is likely to be an important aspect of such mental models.

7.4.1 Omission/inclusion and social esteem

Variety in Key Concepts can be reckoned as a measure of inclusion or exclusion and hence a cohort's status within social stratification. The finding that sixteen Key Concepts were shared by female corpora as opposed to six for the male corpora indicates that characterisation of female referents was less varied and more generic than that of males. This may be interpreted as a form of exclusion as women are characterised as more similar to each other, with lower difference between individuals. Meanwhile male referents are represented with fewer overlapping Key Concepts. The more generic female concepts are possibly more related to femaleness. Such concepts include interest in age (Old and young), family relationships ('Kin'), social factors (People, Social Actions), money-related issues, and personal evaluations ('Deserving/Undeserving', 'Suitable/ Unsuitable', 'Evaluation: Good' and 'Education', which could be a governance related topic but has been demonstrably more related to females than other governance topics (Markstedt, 2007; Trimble, 2014) , 2014). That the emotion 'Violence/ anger' is common to both female corpora is consistent with Van Leeuwen's contention that weaker social cohorts are more frequently associated with emotion. It is also consistent with Martin and White's (2005) proposition that violation of standards of normality frequently provokes anger at a broader societal level. This suggests a persistence of contempt in the commenters toward gender role violation, while considerable research indicates that gender role violation results in higher levels of harassment, particularly for women (Bartow, 2009; Cameron, 1998; Eckert, 1992; Megarry, 2014; Spender, 1985).

Where the activities of female referents were discussed in detail, comments frequently focused on unfavourable activities, which were extraneous to the main professional duties of a politician, with a corresponding paucity of detailed discussion of their performance in their professional role. Triggs and Hanson-Young were discussed as neglectful and irresponsible parents and Penny Wong, who is in a same sex relationship, was represented as a traitor to

the same-sex marriage movement. Julie Bishop, foreign affairs minister was largely discussed in terms of her history of legal work for the asbestos industry, where she defended asbestos producers against cases raised by their workers. Some attention was given to her actions regarding detention of asylum seekers, but this was less prominent than discussion of her work history. Similarly, a case raised against Gillard regarding her earlier legal work with a Union bank account was also prominent, as was Greens Senator Hanson Youngs spending of government funds on a fact-finding tour, while Bronwyn Bishop and Sussan Ley were extensively discussed for their use of government funds for travel. What is of interest here is not the legitimacy of the female referent's actions, but the relative absence of exploration of history for male referents.

Research into psychological characteristics of internet trolls may offer some insight into why female referents were negatively judged in this wide variety of activities. Sest & March (2017) administered tests of empathy to 415 self-confessed internet trolls. Findings indicated that while 'trolls' lacked emotional empathy with their referents; that is, they were not concerned about causing offence, they showed high 'cognitive empathy', or an ability to predict those themes which might be most damaging for their targets. It is feasible that such heightened ability is also present in sectors of the wider population. In other words, many people have a high ability to identify the most damaging or sensitive themes to associate with others. A study of on and offline bullying behaviour in young adults (Pfetsch, 2017) noted similar aptitude for selecting sensitive and controversial topics. Further, studies of empathy indicate that ability to predict others thought processes or reasoning is not clearly related to ability to empathise with others' emotions (Spaulding & Maibom, 2017), suggesting that some commenters may accurately predict topics of negative social sanction in a manner that does not reflect their personal reasons for objecting to the victim, but instead seeks maximal social impact. In a social climate which currently disfavours and even legislates against gender-based discrimination (Attorney General's Department, 2021), it is feasible that objectors choose the most effective topics available that will not attract accusations of discrimination.

7.5   Graduation

At the global level, as noted in Chapter 4, intensification was high in comments for both genders relative to a neutral corpus (NOW), indicating high emotionality by commenters in regard to governance and politics. This high degree of graduation also made it more difficult to ascertain differences in degree of intensification between the gendered corpora. It was hypothesised therefore that intensification was topic-related, and that different topics elicited different degrees of emotional response.

Included in graduation is the amount of detail provided by the commenter on a given topic. This discourse feature was found to be used both to support and to censure the actions of politicians, by providing greater amounts of argumentation and more facts. Use of extended detail both for and against the referents was found in the data, but more frequently for support for males, and censure for females. The cluster of comments discussing criminal prosecution of females was especially notable in this regard, with presupposed details about arrest by *The Australian* Federal Police and subsequent punishment, where the content of the comments could be interpreted as placing the referents lower down on a cline of humanity, as is also typical of othering (Spivak, 1985). The topic of culpability for alleged misdemeanours such as illicit spending elicited extended detail, where support was offered to males more often than females, while the latter largely attracted criticism. Mention of drunkenness at work was exclusively found in the male corpora, with extensive mitigating detail. Parenting skills attracted extended detail and was almost universally condemnatory but only in the case of female referents. My results may extend on a recent study by Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020), who performed a systematic review of journal articles examining negative evaluation of male and female politicians. They measured negative judgement only as a 'yes' or 'no' for each article, finding little difference between genders. However, their study did not examine the content or the degree of graduation in each newspaper report, which explain the different findings from this study, especially since negativity is high in politics overall and hence difficult to measure at a purely quantitative level.

7.6   Legitimation

Regarding the implications of the findings of this study: at least some sectors of society represent female leaders as delegitimated within the field of politics, responding with increased emotional intensity and aggravated representation of unfavoured qualities, while mitigating those of male leaders. Recalling that 'language is the product and vehicle of its ideological context' (Cameron, 1998, p .18), my results indicate considerable resistance to females in political leadership roles. One of the motivations for this research was the observation that although much traditional gender discrimination appeared to have decreased in the mainstream press and in online discussion, it was evident that construction of female leaders appeared fundamentally different and more negative than that of male leaders. Early research into female leaders such as Margaret Thatcher found a recasting of traditional female roles, to present the British Prime Minister's femaleness as an asset to the political process (Ponton, 2010). Contemporaneously, researchers found a concentration on female appearance and neglect of commentary on their performance in mainstream media, while Trimble et al. (2019) a few years later found that the focus of mainstream media had turned away from appearance and on to a personalisation of female politicians, discussing family and other interpersonal as well as non-work-related associations. Automated language analysis undertaken by *The Guardian* found higher negativity in online comments about female politicians (Hunt et al., 2016). Meanwhile Van Dijk (2017), in a study of racism, noted the rise of disclaimers in mainstream media commentary and in personal interviews, as explicit discrimination became decreasingly acceptable in public discourse. His examination of media representation of Dilma Rousseff prior to her impeachment revealed similar themes of delegitimation and exaggeration as found in this study. This reinforces the contention that absence of explicitly gender-based discrimination does not equate with the absence of discrimination. The findings of this study indicate a sanitising of representation to remove those tropes directly recognisable as gender based, but a persistence of broader discriminatory attitudes, based on relative prestige of different cohorts, in which disfavoured behaviours of the dominant group are projected on to the outgroup. Cameron, (1998. p.20) defined non-sexist language as 'the concession you make to feminism without losing your dominant status…inherently a minimalist response'. She also describes sexism as 'a systemic relation of power' (p.25) having much in common with other forms of oppression of societal

groups (p.32). One key feature of such representation is likely to be overall negativity, as evident in this study. Several authors, notably Butler, (2011) have described the powerful social cost incurred when constructed members of a cohort rebel against the role assigned to them by society.

7.7　Exaggeration, supposition and trivialisation

Van Dijk, (1984, p. 140) notes 'exaggeration' as a typical rhetorical strategy used by in-groups to separate themselves from disfavoured or less powerful groups. This is most noticeable under the Key Concept of 'crime' in the female corpora. Comments contain numerous assertions of criminality among female referents, but a major part of the disfavoured behaviours discussed were alleged rather than objectively criminal. When exaggeration is sufficiently great, topics in commentary may cross into new categories, for example, from unethical to unlawful. At this point exaggeration becomes supposition; and this trend was continued with discussion of penalties from civil to criminal. This was noted both in vocabulary and argumentation within the Key Concept of crime.　Exaggeration was also noted in the description of clothing and appearance: comparing a referent's hair to a *WW2 German helmet* (*FG*), as well as varied and multiple nominations of designer brands.

Analogously, Gillian Triggs and Sarah Hanson Young's alleged misdemeanours were exaggerated '*put her daughter in a dungeon*'; '*does she also expect for taxpayers to pay for her [daughter] to be medivaced home*'?

Exaggeration was noted in argumentation to the point where no attempt was made to conform to reality, in the commentaries concerning *gold-plated helicopters* reported in Chapter 5. Trivialisation may be seen as the inverse of exaggeration: where the latter amplifies the negative, the former understates or undervalues valid actions or achievements by referent, as when Sarah Hanson Young's boat trip to learn of environmental impacts of a proposed oil rig, which was described as *going whale watching*. Similarly, the frequently employed term *handbag hit squad* presents the female politicians metonymically, represented by an ineffectual and stereotypical weapon.

7.8 Abstraction

Differences in abstraction versus concreteness were noted throughout the data and their relationship to gender was complex, a finding which does not preclude the influence of gender on the use of this strategy.

Abstraction was found in the descriptions of aggression by female politicians in *The Australian*. Conversely concrete descriptive detail, including in verbs was found in the descriptions of proposed punishments of females who had allegedly misused funds, in descriptions of clothing judged as elitist and in comments arguing that female referents had been neglectful as parents. It was notable that such detail could also be hyperbolic or even unreal rather than necessarily accurate. By contrast, concrete, realistic detail was employed to support a male referent whose spending was not judged by commenters to be illicit or excessive.

Rubini et al. (2014) propose that concrete detail in verbs is an attempt to present actions as temporary and therefore less indicative of character or state of the individual whose actions they describe. In contrast, interpretative or abstracted verbs and adjectives indicate a judgement about the individual, as a stative representation. In stark contrast, Van Leeuwen proposes that abstraction is frequently used to present qualities as natural or normal. He also proposes more concrete detail is likely to be found in the representation of those of lower status who threaten the establishment. These viewpoints are not mutually exclusive however, as both Van Leeuwen (2008) and Rubini (2014) present scenarios for use of abstraction where evaluation is not open to scrutiny, as can be expected both for what is perceived as 'normal' and what is a trait or permanent state. Tanner and Stirling (2017) noted in a study of co-narrated memory retelling that concrete detail was employed to achieve authenticity and therefore increase the credibility of a proposition or claim, which is consistent with Potter's (1996) analysis of abstraction/concreteness.

This study supports the interpretation of Potter (1996) of the abstraction-concreteness cline. Detail and concreteness appeared to be more commonly used as a form of evidence and argumentation, by creating a semblance of authenticity to the commenters' judgement of the referent, whether negative or positive. Abstraction, rather than only indicating what is normal, conceals evidence from the reader and leaves the commenters' premise less open to scrutiny.

Such an interpretation may be consistent with Rubini et al's premise of concrete description as less judgemental. Firstly, concrete descriptive detail enables the receiver to assess the evidence themselves, although such detail may or may not be mitigated or aggravated (e.g., *a few drinks ← tipsy ← drunk*). Secondly, by evading scrutiny, abstracted judgement does not invite the reader to engage with the commenter (Martin & White, 2005) but instead may represent a form of pronouncement which is consistent with monoglossia. The implications of this are complex and must lie in commenter intention: whether to convince the audience or represent judgement as closed to scrutiny. As indicated in Chapter 2, Potter (1996) interprets the abstraction cline as a form of credibility management by the commenter, and this appears to be supported by commenter choices within the data of this study. It is interesting to consider whether there is a relationship between abstraction and monoglossia, as both preclude scrutiny by the receiver of the comment.

Another point of interest is the two distinctly different uses of concrete detail. In some cases, it was used to establish facticity as in the case of Matthias Cormann's expensive aeroplane flight home:

31) *Poodles Pyne tries on the usual 'it was approved' BS cover up for Coalition jet-setting malfeasance and waste; There was no valid reason for Cormann to fly to Adelaide to meet with Griff, Patrick and Storer on the Friday, they would all have been back in Canberra the following Monday when Parliament resumed; It doesn't pass the pub test, the sniff test, or any other test for that matter...*

The other prominent use of extended detail was in conjunction with hyperbole and intensification:

32) *She apparently left parliament house in a helicopter throwing $100 bills out the window yelling screw you suckers, Tony's gonna make me the next ambassador to Louis Vuitton, I mean France, all expenses paid and first class all the way!!!!*

This raises questions about the relationship between concrete detail and saturation/ elaboration. (a) may be seen to be elaborated / saturated but also adheres closely to verifiable detail, while the theme and detail of (b) is unreal. It is possible that the semblance of

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authenticity in narrative style serves to engage the reader, as is possible for all narrative detail, an effect enhanced by irrealis content. Potter (1996) also notes that it is common for dialogic partners to undermine the credibility of extended detail through ridicule. In the above case, the commenter addresses the situation directly with no attempt at credibility, and hence expecting that the argument will not be evaluated as authentic. This may indicate a direct attempt to undermine the referent by representing them without gravitas and hence to delegitimise them in their role in government. *Apparently* absolves the commenter themselves from scrutiny but enables presentation of the referent in a ridiculous light, in a manner which in fact invites scrutiny.

7.9 Disclaimers

According to Van Dijk (2016) negative statements about out-groups are frequently preceded by disclaimers which serve to mitigate the effect of negative commentary on the part of the commenter. He gave examples of Dutch nationals' discourse about African migrants in which exaggerated statements are frequently preceded by disclaimers*: I'm not racist but; some of them are kind but* (2016, p.140). This strategy serves to absolve the speaker of unfounded prejudice while presenting their negative judgement of the referent as irrefutable. In the literature, disclaimers for females in politics were largely achieved by unfavourable comparison to other female politicians or famous individuals such as Margaret Thatcher or Joan of Arc. In the corpora studied here, a frequent disclaimer was *her gender has nothing to do with it. It is her dishonesty / incompetence*. Thus, commenters attempted to distance themselves from accusations of gender-based judgement.

Another common strategy was to express disapproval of 'political correctness.'. The term itself arguably negates the purpose of anti-discriminatory speech, which is to protect groups within society from damaging prejudice, but rather presents it as a set of political rules. 'Political Correctness' is likely to have dissuaded many commenters from commenting directly on the role of femaleness in their evaluation of referents. Only a few indirect references were made to femaleness in *The Australian 'because she is female and made of glass',* which indicates fragility, in line with traditional stereotypes. Meanwhile, several commenters denied a role for sexism in the negative experiences and evaluations of referents, thus attributing perceived

faults in the referent as personal failings and denying that broader social forces may be operating. Several other comments decried a particular type of feminism represented by these female referents, which the commenters noted as a type they disagreed with, again delegitimising the role of social forces in an individual's experiences. Several disclaimers represented Van Leeuwen's (2008, p. 112) 'Moral Evaluation' strategy of 'comparison/contrast'. Female referents were compared negatively with commenters themselves for behaviours such as responsibility in child-rearing and money handling, placing the commenter in a morally superior position, isolating events and behaviours from circumstances and assuming universality of the commenters' values and beliefs.

Disclaimers thus had a largely different surface form to those reported by Van Dijk (2016) but served similar functions and perhaps reflected more evolved instances of commenters concealing motivations and beliefs, where any explicit reference to sexism could be seen as outdated. Such disclaimers are also evidence of resistance to social change which the speaker/ writer regards as actively threatening to their interests.

7.10   Original Contributions of this study

A major contribution of this study lies in the fact that unlike the majority of studies into female politicians, it goes beyond searching for traditional gender-related stereotypes to reveal broader themes possibly related to social stratification and violation of traditional societal boundaries. These themes include association of female politicians with transgressions of societal moral standards, generalisations and omissions of female politicians and higher emotionality and intensification when female politicians are visible in the media. Such findings reflect those of several studies of discrimination against other social cohorts who represent lower social strata within a given society such as African migrants in Holland (van Dijk, 1999); refugees into the United Kingdom (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) Muslims (van Dijk, 2016) and Muslim women (Al-Hejin, 2015). As females in governance are a relatively privileged social cohort, there is no intention in this study to compare the degree of discrimination and restriction with that of other societal cohorts such as those based on ethnicity or religion. However, it is instructive to note that certain thematic and linguistic processes appear to be universal in prejudicial behaviour, albeit varying greatly in degree. By exposing such strategies

as commonly used to limit and control many cohorts, this study potentially contributes to their eventual recognition and reduction within social discourse.

Features of appraisal such as delegitimation include confabulation and speculation (Ross, 2019) which occur in the case of use of travel/flying allowances and reflect similar strategies used to criticise disfavoured politicians. Such associations, only implicitly related to gender, are arguably of high importance: by raising awareness of implicit associations and unconscious bias in the community, critical aspects of discrimination can be identified and addressed, thereby enabling further progress for women in politics.

Another important contribution of this study is the use of data from comments by members of the public. Earlier studies detailed concepts, themes and tropes employed by journalists in major publications. Such studies provided invaluable information about representation of females in leadership by a cohort of the very powerful and influential. However, it is timely to extend the research into another aspect of public discourse in the Foucauldian sense of major values and arguments: the reception, contribution and reproduction of such discourse by members of the public, who are, after all, the voters. As outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis, mainstream media takes an interactive role in the formation of public opinion, but with far greater capacity to promote an institutional or editorial viewpoint than individual citizens. The findings of this study indicate that that female politicians are not only subject to traditional sexism but also to broader processes which uphold current social distributions of power. By revealing such processes applied to women from diverse political alliances, the focus is elevated from the evaluation of the individual politician to the cohort of Australian female politicians, and from women alone to wider attempts to maintain current power relations over a range of social groups. By revealing similarities in patterns of discrimination against a variety of groups, attention is directed away from characteristics of any one particular cohort, and on to the social phenomenon of the nature of discrimination. Such patterns are well illustrated in the findings of the abovementioned researchers who detail similar mechanisms of discrimination and exclusion. The data in this study can further highlight such functions and the strategies behind them in the fates of Australia's 'embattled' female politicians.

The use of online comments is both a strength and a weakness in this study. The use of unsolicited comments, in contrast to for example, surveys, has the potential to increase

authenticity in expression of opinions and their intensity. It also helps to avoid bias on the part of the researcher, as comments were drawn according to their availability over a five-year period and selected to reflect a representative sample across referents and time/events. Online reader comments proved a rich sample, enabling the examination of over 700,000 words and 20,000 comments within fairly specific constraints, which would be otherwise difficult to obtain. Moderation by newspaper staff is likely to remove the most extreme and offensive comments and thus is not evaluated as a weakness because the study aimed to reveal more subtle attitudes than those of online hate-speech, which has been the topic of a range of research not only in the field of gender (Jaki et al., 2019; Lillian, 2007; Richardson-Self, 2018; Shepherd et al., 2015; Trindade, 2020) but also in the fields of race (Harlow, 2015; van Dijk, 2016) and migrants and refugees (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2008; Wodak & Reisigl, 2001).

However, use of online comments provided several barriers. Firstly, comments on female politicians were far fewer than those on males, necessitating gathering of data over a long period of time and dealing with a range of news topics. This made parallel comparison difficult, and hence it was necessary to focus on broader themes such as money, crime and family rather than specific political processes. Also, a diachronic analysis of the corpora could have revealed interesting changes over time in representation of politicians, but purposive sampling of the data by time periods yielded insufficient or uneven number of comments and hence could not be assessed as reliable.

Secondly, it was necessary to select judiciously from comments on males since they greatly outnumbered those on females. This was achieved by selecting entire comment threads from the samples at the most even spaces across the time period until they numbered as many as the smallest female sample, while including almost all comments on females collected during the five years. This selection of male comments may have introduced a bias into the sample by excluding certain issues of interest in comments on male politicians.

Lastly, while the comments selected have been archived with identifying dates by the researcher and are available on request, they have largely been erased from records in the online publications. Online access to the comments would have improved the verifiability of this data and its sources.

This research has been an exploratory study, and to the best of my knowledge has not been attempted before using linguistic as well as thematic evaluation. One doctoral thesis, Gooch (2015) examined approximately 700 selected online reader comments from Australian broadsheets, largely exploring the role of gender in voter intentions and how prominent this factor was for male and female voters. This thesis appears largely complementary to the research undertaken here, exploring a totally different effect of gender in politics; that of the mechanisms of public appraisal. A thesis by Williams (2019) focused on gendered mediation of female politicians by newspapers, rather than public commentary and examined personalisation and traditionally gendered features without analysis of linguistic data.

7.11 Limitations

This thesis did not examine the newspaper articles to which the comments were appended, therefore the influence of such articles on commenters' opinions cannot be clearly evaluated. However, the aim of this research was not to measure the effect of mainstream media on public opinions, but to examine how members of the public represented female politicians, regardless of their sources of influence. The likelihood that some commenters reflected the content of the articles is consistent with the notion of discourse as a society-wide determiner of values and beliefs, with many points of influence. The commenter as a member of society reflects social values at the furthest point of penetration and is therefore informative of tendencies of the society as a whole.

Comment length was not consistent across the two publications, with comments being notably longer in *The Guardian*, especially comments on females, than *The Australian*. This presented complications for calculation of quantitative data, some measures being calculated on percentages by total comments, others by percentages per sentence and others by percentages of total tokens. However, selection of the type of measure was closely matched with the type of data under discussion for each calculation, and measures of statistical significance optimised validity

Similarly, the overall dearth of commentary on female politicians in both publications necessitated sampling of a higher proportion of available comments for females than males. This discrepancy in numbers may have arisen for several reasons: firstly, there are more males

than females in Ministerial posts, and more males hold prominent positions in cabinet, meaning that their actions have greater effect on the public and are likely to be more newsworthy as a result. Secondly, it is likely that more female politicians were omitted from news reports, since the selection process in this study strove to ensure a similar number of prominent roles for males and females, so the scarcity of females in commentary may reflect relative failure by the newspapers and commenters to recognise the contribution of their work. The quantitative data provides support for this premise, but it is not possible to accurately estimate the contribution of this phenomenon.

Comments were sampled in this study entirely under a period of government by the more conservative end of Australian politics. This not only resulted in a lower percentage of women in executive roles but makes it difficult to assess the degree of influence on the public opinions of the party in power. In other words, gender representation and party do not appear to operate independently, as commenters to *The Australian* were on the whole more critical of females, while the males received relatively higher levels of criticism in *The Guardian*. As the latter publication tends toward more reformist agendas, commenters may have objected to the political stance of the male politician, and males were more numerous overall in that government, hence more likely to attract criticism.

Finally, commenters to online newspapers are a self-selecting cohort and probably a minority amongst citizens. Therefore, the extent to which they measure general attitudes in society is unknown. This thesis makes few claims to transferability of its findings, other than to say the trends and attitudes were revealed that exist in society and may be indicative of broader societal views.

7.12   Future investigations

This thesis did not concern itself with the relative influence of the press and the topoi they present on the views of the public. However, given Gill's (2007, p.17) valid criticism, that most studies of press influence take a 'hypodermic needle' approach to the readership, as passive recipients of press argumentation, it would be useful to compare appraisal within newspaper articles to that of the comments appended. This would be highly informative of the role of the press in promulgating certain evaluations and representations of gender and leadership.

The study was undertaken during a period of conservative government. The extent of influence of the ideology of the government itself, as disseminated through media, is unknown. Government decisions and announcements themselves may influence the beliefs of the members of the public, so it would be useful to undertake a similar study during a period of government from the centrist to left side of politics, to examine whether appraisal by gender differed in its nature or direction. It is also likely, given recent worldwide trends, that such a government would include greater numbers of women in cabinet posts and hence permit a more balanced sampling referents and their political prominence.

Comparison of reader comments on female politicians in other countries similar to Australia, such as New Zealand or Canada, may help to separate attitudes which are uniquely Australian, from those which are more universal in the Anglophone world. Similarly, comparison of these results with dissimilar political and cultural systems would be very informative on universals in representation of gender.

Recent literature on representation of female politicians in the media internationally has argued a tendency toward increased acceptance of females in leadership roles, both within politics and beyond. My study was undertaken using data collected between 2013 and 2018. It would be useful to conduct a similar study in the future, to identify changes in appraisal over time. As Gillard stated, her experience as Prime Minister '*would make it easier for the next woman and the woman after that*' (Women's Agenda, 2013). Such a study could add diachronicity to these findings and verify or otherwise the contentions in recent literature of increased acceptance of women in political roles.

Recently there has been prominent public concern over the feminisation of poverty (Brady & Kall, 2008;Burchi et al., 2019; Pressman, 2003). Also, recent events such as the CoVid pandemic have been widely reported to disproportionally disadvantage women financially (Madgavkar et al., 2020; McArdle, 2021). The findings of this study regarding money and female politicians are therefore timely. A broader examination of the representation of money/finances and women's relationship to them could yield valuable information about how and why women appear to be marginalised in their access to basic fiscal resources. It is conceivable that much of this marginalisation has its origins in public beliefs and attitudes,

which again, could be sampled through discourses within many societal institutions such as corporations, the mass media, religious institutions and government.

Some linguistic phenomena identified in this research could be further examined for their pragmatic and sociolinguistic impact. For example, register differences were noted across the representation of genders, with informal registers being used on the one hand as a form of mitigation and solidarity with the referent, and on the other hand as a form of minimising the importance of certain individuals or their actions. Similarly, within the field of appraisal theory, elaborate detail was frequently used in what appeared to be an attempt to increase evidential weight for a commenters' argument, whether to support or condemn the referent. Such a commenter strategy obscured findings within the quantitative data and required line by line appraisal to ascertain its pragmatic purpose. Further investigation of such strategies to legitimate an argument might include examination of the correlation of combined factors such as polarity (negative or positive appraisal) with formal/ informal register and gender to obtain insights into the mechanisms of argumentation.

7.13   Conclusion

This thesis concludes that differences persist in the representation of male and female politicians by members of the general public who comment in newspapers and that this different representation is likely to promulgate negative attitudes towards women in political leadership and thus could be related to their greater career disruption. The findings of this study were that female politicians receive more negative evaluation, more exaggeration when censured, association with illegal and strongly sanctioned negative behaviours and suggestion of more extreme consequences for alleged sanctioned behaviours. Female politicians were also commented on with more intensification and emotional content, and frequently represented in unreal or imagined scenarios indicating not only strong reactions to their presence in governance, but also an evident desire among commenters to delegitimise and punish. Female politicians were more frequently excluded from politics-related discussion than their male counterparts, with the exception of one or two high-profile women, who were topics of comments at vastly higher levels than other females or males. Criticism of female politicians displayed clear consistencies in themes across two publications from different ends

of the political spectrum, the more conservative showing stronger trends and a greater number of significant differences from the corresponding male data. Themes common to females in the two publications showed raised levels of affect in the form of graduation and saturation as well as increased detail and rationalisation in supporting evidence for the commenters' censure. Although negative commentary was also high in for male politicians in the two publications, it was lower than for females, and males were more frequently defended by commenters, or criticism expressed using mitigating expressions and language. The use of abstraction and concrete description also indicated commenter attempt to either protect their comments from scrutiny or to convince other readers through a semblance of facticity.

This study differs from many previous studies in finding smaller numbers of comments about females that related to traditional gender stereotypes. Comments persisted in the themes of family responsibilities and clothing/appearance but did not dominate. Instead, themes arising for women more closely adhered to behaviours subject to moral or legal disapproval and were particularly relevant to the duties of a political leader. Hence, while the nature of comments clearly differed according to the gender of the politician, they were gender-mediated rather than clearly gender-based in that there were patterns of attitude associations with each gender that were not clearly related to gender roles. This finding, that of more powerful reactions to female politicians and relatively high levels of exclusion from commentary overall, indicate a persistent perception among this sample of commenters that females are outsiders in political leadership. It also supports the premise that once discrimination is socially disfavoured, it will persist in less recognisable forms.

This thesis draws the conclusion that gender discrimination displays many features in common with other forms of discrimination such as race or religion, albeit in (vastly) differing degrees. Such a conclusion is drawn from the tendency of commenters to negatively evaluate those aspects of character or behaviour which delegitimate the recipient within a cohort of higher status. I draw such a conclusion not to appropriate the experiences of other marginalised cohorts. Instead, I aim to illustrate from my findings that strategies and topoi employed to delegitimise appear to reflect more on the beliefs and values of those who discriminate than the qualities and behaviours of those subject to discrimination. Negative evaluations, topoi and narratives may function instead to protect the status of privileged groups.

It is potentially useful for women entering politics to be aware that they are likely to be more frequently subject to criticisms about a wide range of their decisions and behaviours in their work and held to more exacting standards and subject to greater penalties than their male counterparts. It is also consistent with findings about other prominent female political leaders internationally. However, these findings provide grounds for optimism, as they indicate a wider adoption of standards which avoid expression of explicit sexism, at least in a public forum. That female politicians were negatively evaluated within themes of universal social sanction may reflect heightened resistance among commenters arising from women's relative success in recent times. Such resistance has been widely observed when subordinate social cohorts successfully confront restrictions to their freedoms and opportunities. Further, use of defensive structures in the form of clines of abstraction, and the use of disclaimers, indicates an awareness in the community that cohort-based discrimination is no longer normative.

This study supports the effectiveness of CADS as a methodology for examining aggregate data such as social media and online discussion. Regardless of the myriad contexts of the original comment threads, clear trends were found in the data. Given the heterogenous origins of online discussion, it is unlikely that a study such as this could have been undertaken within a single context, such as a large number of comments posted to reports on one event. However, the findings are reinforced because they were in line with the findings of A'Beckett (2012); Joshi et al. (2020), Ross and Rivers (2017), Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020) and Van Dijk (2017) about the use of allegations and exaggeration to delegitimise politicians in the press. Further, they show trends for delegitimation in line with the findings of similar studies within other cohorts such as migrant and refugee groups (Wodak & Reisigl., 2001; LGBTIQ communities (Baker, 2018) religious groups (Al Hejin, (2015) and climate scientists (Koteyko et al. (2013).

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Appendices

Appendix 1   Links to raw data: Complete corpora, spreadsheets for logistic regression

The following hyperlinks will direct to the complete set of comments contained within the four corpora: Female Australian, Male Australian, Female Guardian, Male Guardian.

If there are any difficulties accessing these files, please email kdacy@unimelb.edu.au

1. File containing four Corpora with comments:

    [Complete corpora from *The Australian* and *The Guardian*](#)

2. Files containing Logistic Regression analyses for the four corpora:

    [Logistic Regression tables *The Australian*.xlsx](#)

    [Logistic Regression tables *The Guardian*.xlsx](#)

3. Link to 'The NOW (News on the Web)' Corpus:

    https://www.english-corpora.org/now/

4. Link to downloaded corpus 'The NOW' (News on the Web) for the period of data collection for this research – downloaded July 2019.

    [2019 NOW Corpus](#)

5. *Link to complete lists of key concepts comparing male and female corpora within each publication:

Appendix 2   Complete lists of Key Concepts

Appendix 2.1

Complete list of Key Concepts identified in The Australian male corpus compared to the female corpus.

Log likelihood over 7 is considered significant.

USAS tag	M num	M%	F num.	F%		Log lik.	Log. Rat.	
Z1	2059	1.74	926	0.78	+	124.1	1.16	Personal names (Politician's names)
F2++	80	0.07	2	0	+	95.5	5.33	Excessive drink
F2	148	0.12	51	0.04	+	50.14	1.55	Drinks and alcohol
G2.1	685	0.58	453	0.38	+	49.51	0.61	Law and order
S7.1+	832	0.7	586	0.49	+	44.89	0.52	In power
S3.2	253	0.21	126	0.11	+	44.41	1.02	Relationship: intimacy and sex
E6+	123	0.1	44	0.04	+	39.54	1.49	Confident
S8-	209	0.18	101	0.08	+	39.3	1.06	Hindering
W4	108	0.09	36	0.03	+	38.25	1.6	Weather
G1.2	2317	1.96	1961	1.64	+	32.58	0.25	Politics
S9	515	0.43	362	0.3	+	28.07	0.52	Religion and the supernatural
O4.6+	69	0.06	22	0.02	+	25.87	1.66	Temperature: hot
G1.2	220	0.19	134	0.11	+	21.8	0.73	Parliamentary terms (H5, Furniture and H2, Parts of bulidings)
G1.1	1042	0.88	862	0.72	+	18.51	0.29	Government
N6+	235	0.2	155	0.13	+	17.17	0.61	Frequent
X2.1	1080	0.91	906	0.76	+	16.69	0.26	Thought, belief
Q2.1	1263	1.07	1077	0.9	+	16.33	0.24	Speech: communicative
W3	221	0.19	146	0.12	+	16.04	0.61	Geographical Terms
O4.6	11	0.01	0	0	+	15.34	4.47	Temperature
S4	499	0.42	388	0.33	+	14.83	0.37	Kin
X9.2+	205	0.17	142	0.12	+	12.01	0.54	Success
K3	15	0.01	2	0	+	11.36	2.92	Recorded sound
S7.3	14	0.01	2	0	+	10.22	2.82	Competition
S9-	11	0.01	1	0	+	9.83	3.47	Non-religious
A1.1.1	1789	1.51	1626	1.36	+	9.14	0.15	General actions, making
X4.1	388	0.33	311	0.26	+	9.13	0.33	Mental object, conceptual object
Q4.2	163	0.14	114	0.1	+	9.11	0.53	The Media, newspapers
X3	6	0.01	0	0	+	8.37	3.6	Sensory

Q3	344	0.29	276	0.23	+	8.03	0.33	Language, speech and grammar
A6.1+++	190	0.16	140	0.12	+	8.01	0.45	Comparing: similar
N3.1	18	0.02	5	0	+	7.9	1.86	Measurement: general
A15-	50	0.04	27	0.02	+	7.16	0.9	Danger
Z6	2527	2.13	2365	1.98	+	6.74	0.11	Negative
O1.3	35	0.03	17	0.01	+	6.51	1.05	Substances and materials: gas
A6.2-	55	0.05	32	0.03	+	6.34	0.79	Comparing: Unusual
Z3	441	0.37	374	0.31	+	6.06	0.25	Other proper names
N3.3+	35	0.03	18	0.02	+	5.69	0.97	Distance: Far
A9	4	0	0	0	+	5.58	3.01	Getting and giving; possession
L1	17	0.01	6	0.01	+	5.57	1.51	Life and living things
G1.2	1663	1.4	1546	1.3	+	5.26	0.12	Politics
E2+	242	0.2	196	0.16	+	5.22	0.32	Like
Y1	45	0.04	27	0.02	+	4.69	0.75	Science and technology in general
G2.2	45	0.04	27	0.02	+	4.69	0.75	General ethics
A6.1+	264	0.22	219	0.18	+	4.57	0.28	Comparing: Similar
X2.2+	509	0.43	447	0.37	+	4.54	0.2	Knowledgeable
X8+	174	0.15	138	0.12	+	4.46	0.35	Trying hard
S1.2.5+++	3	0	0	0	+	4.18	2.6	Tough/strong
E4.1+++	3	0	0	0	+	4.18	2.6	Happy
A15++	3	0	0	0	+	4.18	2.6	Safe
X9.2-	181	0.15	146	0.12	+	4.04	0.32	Failure
X2.2	10	0.01	3	0	+	4.03	1.75	Knowledge
Q4.1	68	0.06	47	0.04	+	4.03	0.54	The Media: Books
A2.1+	492	0.42	435	0.36	+	3.98	0.19	Change
A2.1-	25	0.02	13	0.01	+	3.95	0.95	No change
S1.2.6-	159	0.13	127	0.11	+	3.85	0.34	Foolish
A7+	1739	1.47	1643	1.38	+	3.55	0.09	Likely
G2.2-	316	0.27	273	0.23	+	3.5	0.22	Unethical
O1.1	100	0.08	76	0.06	+	3.48	0.41	Substances and materials: Solid
H1	110	0.09	85	0.07	+	3.42	0.38	Architecture, houses and buildings
E2	14	0.01	6	0.01	+	3.36	1.23	Liking
A5.1++	115	0.1	90	0.08	+	3.26	0.37	Evaluation: Good
Q2.1-	9	0.01	3	0	+	3.19	1.6	Speech: Not communicating
S7.2+	84	0.07	63	0.05	+	3.18	0.43	Respected

W5	35	0.03	22	0.02	+	3.1	0.68	Green issues
A5.2+	378	0.32	334	0.28	+	3.08	0.19	Evaluation: TRUE
O4.6-	15	0.01	7	0.01	+	3.04	1.11	Temperature: Cold
A11.1+	190	0.16	159	0.13	+	3.01	0.27	Important
X9.2++	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Success
S5+++	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Belonging to a group
S3.1-	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	No personal relationship
N3.5-	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Weight: Light
N3.4+	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Volume: Inflated
E3---	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Violent/Angry
A5.3++	2	0	0	0	+	2.79	2.01	Evaluation: Accurate
O4.4	109	0.09	87	0.07	+	2.65	0.34	Shape
S1.2.5+	46	0.04	32	0.03	+	2.64	0.54	Tough/strong
N6-	47	0.04	33	0.03	+	2.58	0.52	Infrequent
A11.1+++	14	0.01	7	0.01	+	2.43	1.01	Important
A3+	4658	3.93	4546	3.81	+	2.41	0.05	Existing
N3.2+	146	0.12	122	0.1	+	2.35	0.27	Size: Big
S7.4-	23	0.02	14	0.01	+	2.28	0.73	Not allowed
X6+	90	0.08	72	0.06	+	2.15	0.33	Decided
H3	20	0.02	12	0.01	+	2.09	0.75	Areas around or near houses
S1.1.2+	37	0.03	26	0.02	+	2.02	0.52	Reciprocal
B4	59	0.05	45	0.04	+	2	0.4	Cleaning and personal care
A6.1-	659	0.56	614	0.51	+	1.97	0.11	Comparing: Different
A4.2--	4	0	1	0	+	1.95	2.01	General
I1.3-	22	0.02	14	0.01	+	1.86	0.66	Cheap
O1.2	55	0.05	42	0.04	+	1.85	0.4	Substances and materials: Liquid
S1.2.3+	109	0.09	91	0.08	+	1.77	0.27	Selfish
K5	10	0.01	5	0	+	1.74	1.01	Sports and games generally
A13.7	93	0.08	77	0.06	+	1.64	0.28	Degree: Minimizers
A12-	142	0.12	123	0.1	+	1.52	0.22	Difficult
O4.2-	152	0.13	133	0.11	+	1.42	0.2	Judgement of appearance: Negative
A2.2-	28	0.02	20	0.02	+	1.4	0.5	Unconnected
X9.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Able/intelligent
X8+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Trying hard
X2.1+	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Thought, belief
T3-+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Time: New and young
S7.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	In power

S3.1	140	0.12	122	0.1	+	1.39	0.21	Personal relationship: General
O4.6++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Temperature: Hot / on fire
N3.7-+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Short and narrow
N3.4-	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Volume: Compressed
N3.3++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Distance: Far
N3.2---	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Size: Small
H4-	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Non-resident
G2.2++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Ethical
G2.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Lawful
E4.1++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Happy
E3--	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Violent/Angry
A6.2+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Comparing: Usual
A5.1---+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Evaluation: Bad
A1.5.1+	1	0	0	0	+	1.39	1.01	Used
K1	190	0.16	170	0.14	+	1.28	0.17	Entertainment generally
T1.1	108	0.09	93	0.08	+	1.24	0.23	Time: General
X3.2	142	0.12	125	0.1	+	1.22	0.2	Sensory: Sound
N5++	338	0.29	313	0.26	+	1.17	0.12	Quantities: many/much
S7.1	20	0.02	14	0.01	+	1.11	0.53	Power, organizing
X5.1-	35	0.03	27	0.02	+	1.1	0.39	Inattentive
S1.2.5++	3	0	1	0	+	1.06	1.6	Tough/strong
A11.1++	3	0	1	0	+	1.06	1.6	Important
A4.2+	151	0.13	135	0.11	+	1.03	0.17	Detailed
A5.3+	185	0.16	168	0.14	+	0.96	0.15	Evaluation: Accurate
L1-	64	0.05	54	0.05	+	0.93	0.26	Dead
W2	17	0.01	12	0.01	+	0.91	0.51	Light
A5.1+++	143	0.12	129	0.11	+	0.84	0.16	Evaluation: Good
T1.3-	19	0.02	14	0.01	+	0.8	0.45	Time period: short
X2.6-	61	0.05	52	0.04	+	0.79	0.24	Unexpected
S1.1.1	190	0.16	175	0.15	+	0.74	0.13	Social Actions, States and Processes
O1.2-	4	0	2	0	+	0.7	1.01	Dry
I3.2-	4	0	2	0	+	0.7	1.01	Unprofessional
A5.4+	117	0.1	106	0.09	+	0.63	0.15	Evaluation: Authentic
A5.3-	169	0.14	156	0.13	+	0.63	0.13	Evaluation: Inaccurate
N5.1-	79	0.07	70	0.06	+	0.62	0.19	Part
E4.2-	35	0.03	29	0.02	+	0.61	0.28	Discontent
S7.1++	17	0.01	13	0.01	+	0.57	0.4	In power
N3.7++	17	0.01	13	0.01	+	0.57	0.4	Long, tall and wide

X3.4-	10	0.01	7	0.01	+	0.56	0.53	Unseen
I3.2+	18	0.02	14	0.01	+	0.53	0.37	Professional
S7.1--	5	0	3	0	+	0.52	0.75	No power
A3-	5	0	3	0	+	0.52	0.75	Non-existing
A1.6	5	0	3	0	+	0.52	0.75	Concrete/Abstract
A13.1	128	0.11	118	0.1	+	0.49	0.13	Degree: Non-specific
X3.2+	12	0.01	9	0.01	+	0.45	0.43	Sound: Loud
S1.2.6+	50	0.04	44	0.04	+	0.43	0.2	Sensible
X3.1	13	0.01	10	0.01	+	0.42	0.39	Sensory: Taste
N1	598	0.5	582	0.49	+	0.36	0.05	Numbers
A1.1.2	146	0.12	137	0.11	+	0.36	0.1	Damaging and destroying
X7	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Wanting; planning; choosing
X5.2++	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Interested/excited/energetic
X2.1-	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Without thinking
S7.3+	7	0.01	5	0	+	0.35	0.5	Competitive
N3.8+++	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Speed: Fast
N3.5+	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Weight: Heavy
I1.1++	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Money: Affluence
F2+++	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Excessive drinking
A11.1--	2	0	1	0	+	0.35	1.01	Unimportant
N4	592	0.5	577	0.48	+	0.33	0.05	Linear order
C1	69	0.06	63	0.05	+	0.32	0.14	Arts and crafts
A1.3+	17	0.01	14	0.01	+	0.32	0.29	Cautious
X9.1	8	0.01	6	0.01	+	0.3	0.43	Ability and intelligence
W1	83	0.07	77	0.06	+	0.28	0.12	The universe
O3	35	0.03	31	0.03	+	0.28	0.19	Electricity and electrical equipment
N5.1+++	10	0.01	8	0.01	+	0.24	0.33	Entire; maximum
A1.2+	67	0.06	62	0.05	+	0.24	0.12	Suitable
S8+++	3	0	2	0	+	0.21	0.6	Helping
N3.3--	3	0	2	0	+	0.21	0.6	Distance: Near
E5+	27	0.02	24	0.02	+	0.2	0.18	Bravery
X5.2+	135	0.11	129	0.11	+	0.19	0.08	Interested/excited/energetic
T4--	13	0.01	11	0.01	+	0.18	0.25	Time: Late
B5	146	0.12	140	0.12	+	0.18	0.07	Clothes and personal belongings
X1	14	0.01	12	0.01	+	0.17	0.23	Psychological Actions, States and Processes
X3.2++	4	0	3	0	+	0.15	0.43	Sound: Loud
A3	4	0	3	0	+	0.15	0.43	Being

A11.1-	76	0.06	72	0.06	+	0.14	0.09	Unimportant
T3---	20	0.02	18	0.02	+	0.12	0.16	Time: New and young
N3.7+++	5	0	4	0	+	0.12	0.33	Long, tall and wide
A1.1.1-	5	0	4	0	+	0.12	0.33	Inaction
A2.2	685	0.58	678	0.57	+	0.11	0.03	Cause&Effect/Connection
N6+++	64	0.05	61	0.05	+	0.1	0.08	Frequent
S6-	68	0.06	65	0.05	+	0.09	0.08	No obligation or necessity
A10+	292	0.25	288	0.24	+	0.07	0.03	Open; Finding; Showing
K4	50	0.04	48	0.04	+	0.06	0.07	Drama, the theatre and show business
A6.2+	153	0.13	150	0.13	+	0.06	0.04	Comparing: Usual
N3.8-	12	0.01	11	0.01	+	0.05	0.14	Speed: Slow
A7-	63	0.05	61	0.05	+	0.05	0.06	Unlikely
A13	62	0.05	60	0.05	+	0.05	0.06	Degree
Q1.2	341	0.29	339	0.28	+	0.03	0.02	Paper documents and writing
N5.2+	170	0.14	169	0.14	+	0.02	0.02	Exceed; waste
N5+++	101	0.09	100	0.08	+	0.02	0.03	Quantities: many/much
A5.1	44	0.04	43	0.04	+	0.02	0.04	Evaluation: Good/bad
Z5	32314	27.29	32547	27.26	+	0.01	0	Grammatical bin
X8-	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Not trying
X5.1++	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Attentive
T1.3+++	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Time period: long
S8+	567	0.48	570	0.48	+	0	0	Helping
S5+	628	0.53	631	0.53	+	0	0	Belonging to a group
S1.2	28	0.02	28	0.02	+	0	0.01	Personality traits
Q2.2-	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Speech acts: Not speaking
N3.8++++	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Speed: Fast
N3.6	6	0.01	6	0.01	+	0	0.01	Measurement: Area
N3.3---	2	0	2	0	+	0	0.01	Distance: Near
N3.3-	10	0.01	10	0.01	+	0	0.01	Distance: Near
N3.2++	14	0.01	14	0.01	+	0	0.01	Size: Big
N3	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Measurement
L3-	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	No plants
I1.3--	2	0	2	0	+	0	0.01	Cheap
F1-	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Lack of food
B5-	2	0	2	0	+	0	0.01	Without clothes
B3	69	0.06	69	0.06	+	0	0.01	Medicines and medical treatment
A8+	3	0	3	0	+	0	0.01	Seem

A6	4	0	4	0	+	0	0.01	Comparing
A5.1++++++	1	0	1	0	+	0	0.01	Evaluation: Good
A1.4+	14	0.01	14	0.01	+	0	0.01	Lucky

Appendix 2.2

Complete list of Key Concepts identified in The Australian female corpus compared to the male corpus.

Log likelihood over 7 is considered significant.

c	f num	f%	m num	m%		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
I1.1	726	0.61	212	0.18	+	293.68	1.76	Money and pay
I1	420	0.35	175	0.15	+	101.99	1.25	Money generally
I1.2	399	0.33	189	0.16	+	75.01	1.07	Money: debts
T3+	194	0.16	65	0.05	+	66.18	1.57	Time: Old
I3.1-	184	0.15	67	0.06	+	55.77	1.45	Unemployed
I2.1	284	0.24	151	0.13	+	40.26	0.9	Business: generally,
I1.3	306	0.26	171	0.14	+	37.66	0.83	Money: cost and price
M5	90	0.08	26	0.02	+	36.85	1.78	Flying and aircraft
G2.1-	220	0.18	113	0.1	+	34.15	0.95	Crime
B2-	206	0.17	105	0.09	+	32.6	0.96	Disease
I3.1	626	0.52	443	0.37	+	30.03	0.49	Work and employment, generally
A5.1+	707	0.59	521	0.44	+	26.81	0.43	Evaluation: good
T3++	41	0.03	8	0.01	+	24.05	2.35	Time: very old
X4.2	271	0.23	172	0.15	+	21.53	0.64	Mental object, means method
T1.1.3	1043	0.87	835	0.71	+	21.45	0.31	Time: future
X2.6+	194	0.16	116	0.1	+	19.22	0.73	Expected
X2.4	212	0.18	130	0.11	+	19.2	0.69	Investigate, examine, test, search
I2.2	164	0.14	96	0.08	+	17.45	0.76	Business: selling
M1	1133	0.95	940	0.79	+	16.48	0.26	Moving, coming and going
L2	242	0.2	163	0.14	+	14.88	0.56	Living creatures
Z4	1469	1.23	1257	1.06	+	14.85	0.21	Discourse bin
T3-	160	0.13	101	0.09	+	12.98	0.65	Time: young
I1.1+	45	0.04	17	0.01	+	12.89	1.39	Money: affluence
A1.5.1	138	0.12	85	0.07	+	12.3	0.69	Using
T3	89	0.07	48	0.04	+	12.13	0.88	Time: old and young
X5.2-	43	0.04	17	0.01	+	11.44	1.33	Uninterested/bored/unenergetic
Z8	12814	10.73	12189	10.29	+	11.02	0.06	Pronouns
A1.2	12	0.01	1	0	+	10.88	3.57	Suitability
T1.3	559	0.47	451	0.38	+	10.72	0.3	Time: period
S1.2.2+	23	0.02	6	0.01	+	10.5	1.93	Greedy
S1.1.4+	52	0.04	24	0.02	+	10.34	1.1	Deserving
X2.2-	102	0.09	61	0.05	+	10.1	0.73	No knowledge
X3.4	380	0.32	298	0.25	+	9.3	0.34	Sensory: sight
X7+	664	0.56	553	0.47	+	9.27	0.25	Wanted
Z7	626	0.52	519	0.44	+	9.18	0.26	If
E2++	64	0.05	34	0.03	+	9.09	0.9	Like
S7.4+	349	0.29	273	0.23	+	8.71	0.34	Allowed

E2-	135	0.11	90	0.08	+	8.7	0.57	Dislike
S7.2-	56	0.05	29	0.02	+	8.51	0.94	No respect
I1.2-	10	0.01	1	0	+	8.48	3.31	Debt-free
T2++	294	0.25	226	0.19	+	8.38	0.37	Time: beginning
I1.2+	6	0.01	0	0	+	8.27	3.57	Spending
A4.1	349	0.29	276	0.23	+	7.97	0.33	Generally: kinds, groups, examples
M3	131	0.11	90	0.08	+	7.33	0.53	Vehicles
T4-	46	0.04	24	0.02	+	6.86	0.93	Time: Late
G1.1-	17	0.01	5	0	+	6.82	1.75	Non-governmental
N5--	33	0.03	15	0.01	+	6.77	1.13	Quantities: little
P1	294	0.25	234	0.2	+	6.36	0.32	Education in general
A1.5.2-	23	0.02	9	0.01	+	6.23	1.34	Useless
S5	8	0.01	1	0	+	6.14	2.99	Groups and affiliation
N3.4	8	0.01	1	0	+	6.14	2.99	Measurement: Volume
N5---	36	0.03	18	0.02	+	5.97	0.99	Quantities: little
H4	111	0.09	77	0.07	+	5.91	0.52	Residence
A6.1	30	0.03	14	0.01	+	5.83	1.09	Comparing: Similar/different
S1.1.1-	4	0	0	0	+	5.51	2.99	Social Actions, States and Processes
A7++	4	0	0	0	+	5.51	2.99	Likely
K5.1	118	0.1	84	0.07	+	5.48	0.48	Sports
E3-	421	0.35	355	0.3	+	5.1	0.23	Violent/Angry
F4	46	0.04	27	0.02	+	4.85	0.76	Farming & Horticulture
T1.1.1	317	0.27	262	0.22	+	4.8	0.26	Time: Past
A13.3	804	0.67	713	0.6	+	4.76	0.16	Degree: Boosters
M8	71	0.06	47	0.04	+	4.73	0.58	Stationary
I1.3+	16	0.01	6	0.01	+	4.64	1.4	Expensive
O4.3	256	0.21	208	0.18	+	4.6	0.29	Colour and colour patterns
T1.3++	19	0.02	8	0.01	+	4.53	1.24	Time period: long
N3.8	33	0.03	18	0.02	+	4.36	0.86	Measurement: Speed
M2	572	0.48	500	0.42	+	4.28	0.18	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting
M4	96	0.08	69	0.06	+	4.22	0.46	Sailing, swimming, etc.
T3+++	3	0	0	0	+	4.13	2.57	Time: Old; grown-up
I1.1--	3	0	0	0	+	4.13	2.57	Money: Lack
T1	294	0.25	245	0.21	+	4.08	0.25	Time
A5.1--	39	0.03	23	0.02	+	4.05	0.75	Evaluation: Bad
M6	1588	1.33	1465	1.24	+	4.02	0.1	Location and direction
A5.1-	180	0.15	143	0.12	+	3.96	0.32	Evaluation: Bad
T2-	252	0.21	208	0.18	+	3.87	0.27	Time: Ending
X2.5-	56	0.05	37	0.03	+	3.76	0.59	Not understanding
Q1.3	46	0.04	29	0.02	+	3.75	0.65	Telecommunications
N5-	191	0.16	154	0.13	+	3.69	0.3	Quantities: little
E3+	53	0.04	35	0.03	+	3.57	0.59	Calm

A8	221	0.19	183	0.15	+	3.28	0.26	Seem
N3.3	41	0.03	26	0.02	+	3.27	0.65	Measurement: Distance
X3.5	14	0.01	6	0.01	+	3.23	1.21	Sensory: Smell
G2.2+	160	0.13	129	0.11	+	3.09	0.3	Ethical
N3.2-	67	0.06	48	0.04	+	3	0.47	Size: Small
I4	44	0.04	29	0.02	+	2.99	0.59	Industry
N3.2	22	0.02	12	0.01	+	2.91	0.86	Measurement: Size
A2.1	5	0	1	0	+	2.88	2.31	Modify, change
A10-	142	0.12	114	0.1	+	2.85	0.31	Closed, Hiding/Hidden
A1.4-	31	0.03	19	0.02	+	2.81	0.69	Unlucky
L3	52	0.04	36	0.03	+	2.8	0.52	Plants
A1.5.2+	19	0.02	10	0.01	+	2.77	0.91	Useful
X3.1+	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Tasty
S1.1.4-	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Undeserving
S1.1.3	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Participation
S1.1.2-	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Unilateral
I2	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Business
A12+++	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Easy
A1.5.2	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Usefulness
A1.5.1-	2	0	0	0	+	2.76	1.99	Unused
S1.2.4-	39	0.03	26	0.02	+	2.51	0.57	Impolite
T1.3+	64	0.05	47	0.04	+	2.48	0.43	Time period: long
Y2	74	0.06	56	0.05	+	2.36	0.39	Information technology and computing
Q2.2	1618	1.36	1520	1.28	+	2.33	0.08	Speech acts
A13.2	218	0.18	186	0.16	+	2.29	0.22	Degree: Maximizers
S6+	1000	0.84	927	0.78	+	2.21	0.1	Strong obligation or necessity
O4.2+	115	0.1	93	0.08	+	2.16	0.29	Judgement of appearance: Positive
S1.1.3+	81	0.07	63	0.05	+	2.11	0.35	Participating
M7	199	0.17	170	0.14	+	2.06	0.22	Places
S1.2.5-	34	0.03	23	0.02	+	2.05	0.55	Weak
Q1.1	176	0.15	149	0.13	+	2.03	0.23	Linguistic Actions, States and Processes;
I1.1-	60	0.05	45	0.04	+	2.03	0.4	Money: Lack
Z2	818	0.69	756	0.64	+	1.97	0.1	Geographical names
X3.4+	16	0.01	9	0.01	+	1.93	0.82	Seen
X5.2+++	4	0	1	0	+	1.9	1.99	Interested/excited/energetic
A13.4	118	0.1	97	0.08	+	1.89	0.27	Degree: Approximators
K6	17	0.01	10	0.01	+	1.78	0.75	Children's games and toys
X6	10	0.01	5	0	+	1.66	0.99	Deciding
A6.3+	23	0.02	15	0.01	+	1.63	0.61	Comparing: Varied
T2+	146	0.12	124	0.1	+	1.62	0.22	Time: Beginning
A1.8+	94	0.08	77	0.07	+	1.56	0.28	Inclusion
X2.5+	131	0.11	111	0.09	+	1.5	0.23	Understanding

A12+	146	0.12	125	0.11	+	1.47	0.21	Easy
X7.2+	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	
X2.2+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Knowledgeable
T4	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Time: Early/late
S1.2.6---	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Foolish
S1.2.3+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Selfish
O4.5	47	0.04	36	0.03	+	1.38	0.37	Texture
N3.6+	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Spacious
I2.1-	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Non-commercial
I1.3+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Expensive
G1.2-	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Non-political
E3	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Calm/Violent/Angry
A15+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Safe
A15	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Safety/Danger
A12-+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Difficult
A11.1---	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Unimportant
A1.9-	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Unavoidable
A1.7+++	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Constraint
A1.3	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Caution
A1.1.2-	1	0	0	0	+	1.38	0.99	Fixing and mending
S1.2.1-	21	0.02	14	0.01	+	1.35	0.57	Formal/Unfriendly
S1.1.3+++	12	0.01	7	0.01	+	1.29	0.77	Participating
K5.2	22	0.02	15	0.01	+	1.28	0.54	Games
B2	13	0.01	8	0.01	+	1.16	0.69	Health and disease
O4.2	9	0.01	5	0	+	1.13	0.84	Judgement of appearance
A14	639	0.54	597	0.5	+	1.11	0.09	Exclusivizers/particularizers
F1	156	0.13	137	0.12	+	1.09	0.18	Food
T1.1.2	505	0.42	469	0.4	+	1.06	0.1	Time: Present; simultaneous
X9.1++	3	0	1	0	+	1.03	1.57	Able/intelligent
W2-	3	0	1	0	+	1.03	1.57	Darkness
Q4.3	60	0.05	49	0.04	+	1.03	0.28	The Media: TV, Radio and
O4.2++	3	0	1	0	+	1.03	1.57	Judgement of appearance: Positive
N3.2--	3	0	1	0	+	1.03	1.57	Size: Small
I1.1+++	3	0	1	0	+	1.03	1.57	Money: Affluence
N3.7	34	0.03	26	0.02	+	1.01	0.38	Measurement: Length & height
X3.3	6	0.01	3	0	+	1	0.99	Sensory: Touch
Q4	96	0.08	82	0.07	+	0.99	0.22	The Media
E4.1-	152	0.13	134	0.11	+	0.99	0.17	Sad
A11.2-	10	0.01	6	0.01	+	0.98	0.73	Unnoticeable
A1.8-	28	0.02	21	0.02	+	0.95	0.4	Exclusion
A5.4-	56	0.05	46	0.04	+	0.9	0.27	Evaluation: Unauthentic
N5	528	0.44	494	0.42	+	0.88	0.08	Quantities
E1	58	0.05	48	0.04	+	0.87	0.26	Emotional Actions, States and Processes

X9.1+	138	0.12	122	0.1	+	0.86	0.17	Able/intelligent
A5.1---	41	0.03	33	0.03	+	0.8	0.3	Evaluation: Bad
A1.4	88	0.07	76	0.06	+	0.79	0.2	Chance, luck
T3--	13	0.01	9	0.01	+	0.7	0.52	Time: New and young
A9-	475	0.4	446	0.38	+	0.7	0.08	Giving
X9.1-	58	0.05	49	0.04	+	0.69	0.23	Inability/unintelligence
X5.1+	47	0.04	39	0.03	+	0.68	0.26	Attentive
S1.2.3-	4	0	2	0	+	0.66	0.99	Unselfish
O2	415	0.35	389	0.33	+	0.65	0.08	Objects generally
N3.5	14	0.01	10	0.01	+	0.64	0.47	Measurement: Weight
A4.2-	14	0.01	10	0.01	+	0.64	0.47	General
L1+	62	0.05	53	0.04	+	0.63	0.21	Alive
X2.3+	41	0.03	34	0.03	+	0.6	0.26	Learning
B2+	22	0.02	17	0.01	+	0.6	0.36	Healthy
S1.1.3-	17	0.01	13	0.01	+	0.5	0.38	Non-participating
N6	27	0.02	22	0.02	+	0.47	0.28	Frequency
N3.2+++	38	0.03	32	0.03	+	0.47	0.24	Size: Big
S1.2.1+	11	0.01	8	0.01	+	0.45	0.45	Informal/Friendly
I3.2	28	0.02	23	0.02	+	0.45	0.27	Work and employment: Professionalism
A13.6	121	0.1	110	0.09	+	0.44	0.13	Degree: Diminishers
N5.1+	844	0.71	811	0.68	+	0.42	0.05	Entire; maximum
T4+	12	0.01	9	0.01	+	0.41	0.4	Time: Early
X9.2	21	0.02	17	0.01	+	0.39	0.29	Success and failure
X3.2-	32	0.03	27	0.02	+	0.39	0.23	Sound: Quiet
T2+++	23	0.02	19	0.02	+	0.35	0.26	Time: Beginning
X8++	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Trying hard
X6-	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Undecided
X3-	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Sensory
N5++++	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Quantities: many/much
N3.7---	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Short and narrow
G3-	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Anti-war
A12++	2	0	1	0	+	0.33	0.99	Easy
S2	806	0.68	777	0.66	+	0.32	0.04	People
N5+	459	0.38	439	0.37	+	0.3	0.05	Quantities: many/much
A1.2-	29	0.02	25	0.02	+	0.27	0.2	Unsuitable
A1.9	46	0.04	41	0.03	+	0.25	0.15	Avoiding
K2	31	0.03	27	0.02	+	0.24	0.19	Music and related activities
E4.2+	33	0.03	29	0.02	+	0.23	0.17	Content
A7	119	0.1	111	0.09	+	0.22	0.09	Probability
S7.4	3	0	2	0	+	0.19	0.57	Permission
X7-	59	0.05	54	0.05	+	0.18	0.12	Unwanted
S2.2	284	0.24	272	0.23	+	0.17	0.05	People: Male
G2.1+	42	0.04	38	0.03	+	0.17	0.13	Lawful
N3.8+	66	0.06	61	0.05	+	0.16	0.1	Speed: Fast

N3.8++	4	0	3	0	+	0.14	0.4	Speed: Fast
A13.5	71	0.06	66	0.06	+	0.14	0.09	Degree: Compromisers
T1.2	52	0.04	48	0.04	+	0.13	0.1	Time: Momentary
A1.7+	52	0.04	48	0.04	+	0.13	0.1	Constraint
S5-	116	0.1	110	0.09	+	0.11	0.07	Not part of a group
N5.1	5	0	4	0	+	0.1	0.31	Entirety; maximum
E2+++	5	0	4	0	+	0.1	0.31	Like
A15+	37	0.03	34	0.03	+	0.1	0.11	Safe
A1.3-	6	0.01	5	0	+	0.08	0.25	No caution
O1	26	0.02	24	0.02	+	0.06	0.1	Substances and materials generally
G3	240	0.2	233	0.2	+	0.06	0.03	Warfare, defence and the army;
E6-	172	0.14	166	0.14	+	0.06	0.04	Worry
A5.2-	171	0.14	165	0.14	+	0.06	0.04	Evaluation: FALSE
N2	34	0.03	32	0.03	+	0.05	0.08	Mathematics
F3	9	0.01	8	0.01	+	0.05	0.16	Smoking and non-medical drugs
A9+	1473	1.23	1449	1.22	+	0.05	0.01	Getting and possession
S1.2.2-	12	0.01	11	0.01	+	0.04	0.11	Generous
O4.1	113	0.09	109	0.09	+	0.04	0.04	General appearance and physical properties
E4.1+	161	0.13	156	0.13	+	0.04	0.03	Happy
A7+++	38	0.03	36	0.03	+	0.04	0.07	Likely
A11.2+	50	0.04	48	0.04	+	0.03	0.05	Noticeable
S1.2.4+	58	0.05	56	0.05	+	0.02	0.04	Polite
B1	403	0.34	396	0.33	+	0.02	0.01	Anatomy and physiology
X2	32	0.03	31	0.03	+	0.01	0.03	Mental actions and processes
N3.7+	71	0.06	69	0.06	+	0.01	0.03	Long, tall and wide

Appendix 2.3

Complete list of Key Concepts identified in The Guardian male corpus compared to the female corpus.

Log likelihood over 7 is considered significant.

USAS	M num	M %	F num	F %		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
M5	142	0.08	77	0.03	+	71.01	1.67	Flying
T1.1.3	1218	0.71	1527	0.52	+	67.6	0.46	Time: future
A7+	2553	1.5	3688	1.26	+	46.53	0.25	Likely
L2	397	0.23	426	0.15	+	45.49	0.68	Living creatures, animals
G2.1	849	0.5	1090	0.37	+	40.78	0.43	Law and order
G3	345	0.2	379	0.13	+	36.09	0.65	Warfare, defence and the army
F2	113	0.07	88	0.03	+	31.45	1.15	Drinks and alcohol
S1.2.3+	191	0.11	188	0.06	+	29.41	0.81	Selfish
F4	70	0.04	45	0.02	+	27.51	1.42	Farming and horticulture
W3	331	0.19	390	0.13	+	25.5	0.55	Geographical terms
L3	82	0.05	62	0.02	+	24.22	1.19	Plants
Z7	716	0.42	981	0.33	+	21.51	0.33	If
X9.1-	180	0.11	219	0.07	+	11.8	0.5	Inability/unintelligence
O4.3	265	0.16	345	0.12	+	11.63	0.4	Colour /patterns
H4-	20	0.01	10	0	+	11.04	1.79	Non-resident
B1	753	0.44	1109	0.38	+	10.98	0.23	Anatomy and physiology
F3	42	0.02	34	0.01	+	10.76	1.09	Smoking/drugs
F2++	14	0.01	5	0	+	10.73	2.27	Excessive drinking
S1.2.5-	71	0.04	71	0.02	+	10.4	0.79	Weak
S7.1+	1267	0.74	1946	0.66	+	10.12	0.17	In power
F2+++	5	0	0	0	+	10.02	4.11	Excessive drinking
S7.3+	27	0.02	18	0.01	+	10.01	1.37	Competitive
Q3	434	0.25	615	0.21	+	9.64	0.28	Lang., speech, grammar
S1.2.6-	216	0.13	282	0.1	+	9.3	0.4	Foolish
T1.3-	38	0.02	32	0.01	+	8.91	1.03	Time period short
Z4	1520	0.89	2379	0.81	+	8.58	0.14	Discourse bin
E4.1+	274	0.16	374	0.13	+	8.49	0.34	Happy
K1	460	0.27	664	0.23	+	8.45	0.26	Entertainment generally
I3.1-	116	0.07	139	0.05	+	8.22	0.52	Unemployed
X8+	347	0.2	489	0.17	+	8.13	0.29	Trying hard
S7.4	4	0	0	0	+	8.02	3.79	Permission
G1.2	1949	1.14	3105	1.06	+	7.39	0.11	Politics
T2-	359	0.21	513	0.17	+	7.34	0.27	Time: ending
N3.2-	115	0.07	141	0.05	+	7.23	0.49	Size: small
S1.2.4-	58	0.03	61	0.02	+	7.16	0.71	Impolite
A9+	2160	1.27	3467	1.18	+	6.73	0.1	Getting and possession
A8	340	0.2	489	0.17	+	6.5	0.26	Seem
S6+	1207	0.71	1896	0.65	+	6.32	0.13	Strong obligation or necessity
A15-	80	0.05	94	0.03	+	6.24	0.55	Danger

S1.2.3+++	3	0	0	0	+	6.01	3.37	Selfish
N3	3	0	0	0	+	6.01	3.37	Measurement
A11.1--	3	0	0	0	+	6.01	3.37	Unimportant
A1.2+	96	0.06	118	0.04	+	5.96	0.49	Suitable
X2.6+	219	0.13	304	0.1	+	5.89	0.31	Expected
X3.4+	29	0.02	26	0.01	+	5.82	0.94	Seen
E2++	83	0.05	100	0.03	+	5.72	0.52	Like
L1	17	0.01	12	0	+	5.71	1.29	Life and living things
K3	16	0.01	11	0	+	5.63	1.33	Recorded sound
X2.6-	93	0.05	117	0.04	+	5.06	0.45	Unexpected
O4.4	184	0.11	255	0.09	+	5.02	0.31	Shape
M6	2146	1.26	3482	1.19	+	4.83	0.09	Location and direction
O4.2	16	0.01	12	0	+	4.8	1.2	Judgement of appearance
K5.1	198	0.12	278	0.09	+	4.8	0.3	Sports
A15+	32	0.02	32	0.01	+	4.69	0.79	Safe
M4	102	0.06	132	0.04	+	4.66	0.41	Sailing, swimming, etc.
S1.2.2-	20	0.01	17	0.01	+	4.59	1.02	Generous
A12++	8	0	4	0	+	4.42	1.79	Easy
X3.3	17	0.01	14	0	+	4.19	1.07	Sensory: Touch
E6-	217	0.13	312	0.11	+	4.16	0.26	Worry
S5+	939	0.55	1487	0.51	+	4.11	0.12	Belonging to a group
X3.5	16	0.01	13	0	+	4.07	1.09	Sensory: Smell
S8+++	2	0	0	0	+	4.01	2.79	Helping
N3.8++++	2	0	0	0	+	4.01	2.79	Speed: Fast
I1.3---	2	0	0	0	+	4.01	2.79	Cheap
A15+++	2	0	0	0	+	4.01	2.79	Safe
A15++	2	0	0	0	+	4.01	2.79	Safe
N5.2++	4	0	1	0	+	3.93	2.79	Exceed; waste
F1	250	0.15	366	0.12	+	3.92	0.24	Food
Q1.3	53	0.03	63	0.02	+	3.91	0.54	Telecommunications
O1.3	38	0.02	42	0.01	+	3.88	0.64	Substances and materials: Gas
M3	138	0.08	191	0.07	+	3.81	0.32	Vehicles and transport on land
S5	5	0	2	0	+	3.47	2.11	Groups and affiliation
N5.2+	233	0.14	343	0.12	+	3.42	0.23	Exceed; waste
N3.7+++	16	0.01	14	0	+	3.42	0.98	Long, tall and wide
A9	8	0	5	0	+	3.28	1.46	Getting and giving; possession
N5--	40	0.02	47	0.02	+	3.12	0.55	Quantities: little
A3+	6463	3.79	10839	3.69	+	3.04	0.04	Existing
X2.1	1262	0.74	2048	0.7	+	2.83	0.09	Thought, belief
I2.1	307	0.18	468	0.16	+	2.77	0.18	Business: Generally,
X2.3+	69	0.04	92	0.03	+	2.56	0.37	Learning
A12+	120	0.07	171	0.06	+	2.52	0.27	Easy
N3.8+++	3	0	1	0	+	2.43	2.37	Speed: Fast
A1.6	13	0.01	12	0	+	2.41	0.9	Concrete/Abstract
A1.5.1	190	0.11	283	0.1	+	2.4	0.21	Using

S7.2-	88	0.05	122	0.04	+	2.39	0.31	No respect
A7+++	47	0.03	60	0.02	+	2.34	0.43	Likely
S2.2	362	0.21	564	0.19	+	2.24	0.15	People: Male
X3-	6	0	4	0	+	2.22	1.37	Sensory
N2	50	0.03	65	0.02	+	2.21	0.41	Mathematics
X9.2++	5	0	3	0	+	2.18	1.52	Success
X3	5	0	3	0	+	2.18	1.52	Sensory
S1.1.3	5	0	3	0	+	2.18	1.52	Participation
H5	212	0.12	321	0.11	+	2.13	0.19	Furniture and household fittings
X7+	996	0.58	1620	0.55	+	2.07	0.08	Wanted
A14	826	0.48	1336	0.45	+	2.06	0.09	Exclusivizers/particularisers
X2.2	14	0.01	14	0	+	2.05	0.79	Knowledge
X9.2-+++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Failure
X9.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Able/intelligent
X2.4-	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Not examined
W2--	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Darkness
T4	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Time: Early/late
S4-	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	No kin
S1.2.5---	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Weak
O4.2---	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Judgement of appearance: Negative
O4.2++++++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Judgement of appearance: Positive
O4.2+++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Judgement of appearance: Positive
N5++++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Quantities: many/much
G2.2++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Ethical
E6	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Worry and confidence
A6.3++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Comparing: Varied
A5.1---+++	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Evaluation: Bad
A10---	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Closed, Hiding/Hidden
A1.9-	1	0	0	0	+	2	1.79	Unavoidable
L1+	102	0.06	147	0.05	+	1.91	0.26	Alive
S7.1-	159	0.09	238	0.08	+	1.88	0.2	No power
M2	853	0.5	1385	0.47	+	1.88	0.09	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting
A1.2-	25	0.01	30	0.01	+	1.76	0.52	Unsuitable
N3.2+	170	0.1	257	0.09	+	1.74	0.19	Size: Big
S1.2	60	0.04	83	0.03	+	1.66	0.32	Personality traits
N3.3	48	0.03	65	0.02	+	1.58	0.35	Measurement: Distance
M1	1430	0.84	2363	0.8	+	1.58	0.06	Moving, coming and going
X3.1+	7	0	6	0	+	1.57	1.01	Tasty
A1.4-	42	0.02	56	0.02	+	1.56	0.37	Unlucky
S1.1.3+++	16	0.01	18	0.01	+	1.52	0.62	Participating
Z6	2934	1.72	4917	1.67	+	1.45	0.04	Negative

N5.1+	1084	0.64	1785	0.61	+	1.4	0.07	Entire; maximum
X5.2-	46	0.03	63	0.02	+	1.39	0.33	Uninterested/bored/unenergetic
A7-	88	0.05	129	0.04	+	1.36	0.23	Unlikely
X3.4	517	0.3	835	0.28	+	1.35	0.09	Sensory: Sight
A2.1-	36	0.02	48	0.02	+	1.34	0.37	No change
B5-	5	0	4	0	+	1.31	1.11	Without clothes
S1.1.3+	128	0.08	194	0.07	+	1.26	0.19	Participating
K6	33	0.02	44	0.01	+	1.23	0.37	Children's games and toys
X2.2+	694	0.41	1134	0.39	+	1.22	0.08	Knowledgeable
W5	44	0.03	61	0.02	+	1.2	0.31	Green issues
W4	61	0.04	88	0.03	+	1.13	0.26	Weather
X3.2++	3	0	2	0	+	1.11	1.37	Sound: Loud
W2	28	0.02	37	0.01	+	1.11	0.38	Light
E4.1++	3	0	2	0	+	1.11	1.37	Happy
N3.2---	2	0	1	0	+	1.1	1.79	Size: Small
E3---	2	0	1	0	+	1.1	1.79	Violent/Angry
A4.2	2	0	1	0	+	1.1	1.79	Particular/general; detail
X2.5-	64	0.04	93	0.03	+	1.09	0.25	Not understanding
I1.1+	48	0.03	68	0.02	+	1.07	0.28	Money: Affluence
S7.4+	378	0.22	609	0.21	+	1.06	0.1	Allowed
A9-	681	0.4	1117	0.38	+	1.04	0.07	Giving
X3.2+	17	0.01	21	0.01	+	1.03	0.48	Sound: Loud
S3.1	214	0.13	338	0.12	+	0.99	0.13	Personal relationship: General
I1.3-	61	0.04	89	0.03	+	0.99	0.24	Cheap
O3	34	0.02	47	0.02	+	0.95	0.32	Electricity and electrical equipment
A5.4+	230	0.13	366	0.12	+	0.9	0.12	Evaluation: Authentic
A5.2-	248	0.15	396	0.13	+	0.89	0.11	Evaluation: FALSE
A11.1+++	24	0.01	32	0.01	+	0.89	0.37	Important
N6+	266	0.16	426	0.15	+	0.88	0.11	Frequent
A3-	6	0	6	0	+	0.88	0.79	Non-existing
A1.3-	6	0	6	0	+	0.88	0.79	No caution
A13	102	0.06	156	0.05	+	0.87	0.17	Degree
N4	850	0.5	1409	0.48	+	0.81	0.06	Linear order
A1.4+	21	0.01	28	0.01	+	0.78	0.37	Lucky
N5.1	5	0	5	0	+	0.73	0.79	Entirety; maximum
E2--	5	0	5	0	+	0.73	0.79	Dislike
A2.1+	555	0.33	914	0.31	+	0.72	0.07	Change
I2.2	245	0.14	395	0.13	+	0.67	0.1	Business: Selling
S1.2.2+	36	0.02	52	0.02	+	0.66	0.26	Greedy
S6-	77	0.05	118	0.04	+	0.64	0.17	No obligation or necessity
A6.1+++	182	0.11	291	0.1	+	0.63	0.11	Comparing: Similar
X5.2+	230	0.13	371	0.13	+	0.62	0.1	Interested/excited/energetic
A13.1	221	0.13	356	0.12	+	0.62	0.1	Degree: Non-specific
X1	30	0.02	43	0.01	+	0.59	0.27	Psychological Actions, States and Processes

X5.2++	10	0.01	13	0	+	0.44	0.41	Interested/excited/energetic
X3.2	189	0.11	307	0.1	+	0.41	0.09	Sensory: Sound
I1.3--	5	0	6	0	+	0.35	0.52	Cheap
A11.1-	103	0.06	165	0.06	+	0.34	0.11	Unimportant
A4.2+	201	0.12	329	0.11	+	0.33	0.07	Detailed
A12-	187	0.11	306	0.1	+	0.31	0.08	Difficult
X9.1++	2	0	2	0	+	0.29	0.79	Able/intelligent
X5.2+++	2	0	2	0	+	0.29	0.79	Interested/excited/energetic
T1.1.1	434	0.25	724	0.25	+	0.29	0.05	Time: Past
S7.3-	2	0	2	0	+	0.29	0.79	No competition
A13.4	161	0.09	263	0.09	+	0.29	0.08	Degree: Approximators
T4+	19	0.01	28	0.01	+	0.27	0.23	Time: Early
A13.7	138	0.08	225	0.08	+	0.26	0.08	Degree: Minimizers
T3+	111	0.07	180	0.06	+	0.25	0.09	Time: Old; grown-up
N3.3-	30	0.02	46	0.02	+	0.25	0.17	Distance: Near
S1.1.2-	8	0	11	0	+	0.23	0.33	Unilateral
N3.8++	6	0	8	0	+	0.22	0.37	Speed: Fast
X4.2	297	0.17	495	0.17	+	0.21	0.05	Mental object: Means, method
N5-	264	0.15	439	0.15	+	0.21	0.05	Quantities: little
A1.9	79	0.05	128	0.04	+	0.19	0.09	Avoiding
A1.5.2-	32	0.02	50	0.02	+	0.19	0.14	Useless
S7.1	24	0.01	37	0.01	+	0.18	0.16	Power, organizing
A5.4-	70	0.04	113	0.04	+	0.18	0.09	Evaluation: Unauthentic
A1.7+	108	0.06	177	0.06	+	0.17	0.07	Constraint
X9.2-	261	0.15	436	0.15	+	0.16	0.05	Failure
S4T1.1.1	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	
S1.2.5--	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Weak
P1-	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Not educated
N3.7--	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Short and narrow
N3.5-	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Weight: Light
N3.3++	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Distance: Far
I2	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Business
I1.3+++	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Expensive
E3	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Calm/Violent/Angry
A7++	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Likely
A6.2--	1	0	1	0	+	0.15	0.79	Comparing: Unusual
Q1.2	520	0.31	878	0.3	+	0.14	0.03	Paper documents and writing
O1.2	40	0.02	64	0.02	+	0.14	0.11	Substances and materials: Liquid
G2.2	40	0.02	64	0.02	+	0.14	0.11	General ethics
A7	162	0.1	269	0.09	+	0.14	0.05	Probability
Y1	35	0.02	56	0.02	+	0.12	0.11	Science and technology in general
W2-	5	0	7	0	+	0.12	0.3	Darkness
S1.2.5++	5	0	7	0	+	0.12	0.3	Tough/strong
S1.2.3-	5	0	7	0	+	0.12	0.3	Unselfish
O1.2-	5	0	7	0	+	0.12	0.3	Dry

B4	78	0.05	128	0.04	+	0.12	0.07	Cleaning and personal care
N3.2--	3	0	4	0	+	0.11	0.37	Size: Small
F1-	10	0.01	15	0.01	+	0.11	0.2	Lack of food
S5-	194	0.11	325	0.11	+	0.1	0.04	Not part of a group
S1.1.3-	13	0.01	20	0.01	+	0.1	0.16	Non-participating
Z1	3669	2.15	6286	2.14	+	0.09	0.01	Personal names
X6+	123	0.07	205	0.07	+	0.09	0.05	Decided
N5.1+++	19	0.01	30	0.01	+	0.09	0.13	Entire; maximum
T1.1	131	0.08	219	0.07	+	0.08	0.04	Time: General
N5.1-	141	0.08	236	0.08	+	0.08	0.04	Part
G2.1-	183	0.11	307	0.1	+	0.08	0.04	Crime
A1.4	127	0.07	212	0.07	+	0.08	0.05	Chance, luck
T2++	427	0.25	725	0.25	+	0.06	0.02	Time: Beginning
Y2	96	0.06	161	0.05	+	0.05	0.04	Information technology and computing
O1	57	0.03	95	0.03	+	0.04	0.05	Substances and materials generally
X9.1+	224	0.13	381	0.13	+	0.03	0.02	Able/intelligent
E3+	79	0.05	133	0.05	+	0.03	0.03	Calm
S3.2+	2	0	3	0	+	0.02	0.2	Relationship: Sexual
S3.1-	2	0	3	0	+	0.02	0.2	No personal relationship
Q2.2-	2	0	3	0	+	0.02	0.2	Speech acts: Not speaking
O4.2-	266	0.16	454	0.15	+	0.02	0.01	Judgement of appearance: Negative
N3.4+	2	0	3	0	+	0.02	0.2	Volume: Inflated
A13.6	170	0.1	289	0.1	+	0.02	0.02	Degree: Diminishers
N3.2	25	0.01	42	0.01	+	0.01	0.04	Measurement: Size
A10-	201	0.12	344	0.12	+	0.01	0.01	Closed, Hiding/Hidden
X7-	69	0.04	118	0.04	+	0	0.01	Unwanted
T1.3	716	0.42	1231	0.42	+	0	0	Time: Period
Q2.1-	6	0	10	0	+	0	0.05	Speech: Not communicating
A5.1---	61	0.04	105	0.04	+	0	0	Evaluation: Bad
A1.7-	275	0.16	474	0.16	+	0	0	No constraint

Appendix 2.4

Complete list of Key Concepts identified in The Guardian female corpus compared to the male corpus.

Log likelihood over 7 is considered significant.

USAS	F num	F %	M num	M %		Log Lik.	Log Rat.	
Z2	2289	0.94	1191	0.7	+	70.7	0.43	Geographical terms
I1	889	0.36	389	0.23	+	62.92	0.68	Money
P1	596	0.24	242	0.14	+	54.51	0.79	Education
B5	494	0.2	202	0.12	+	44.18	0.77	Clothes
S7.2+	283	0.12	94	0.05	+	43.65	1.07	Respected
M7	759	0.31	372	0.22	+	32.81	0.51	Places
S2	1448	0.59	791	0.46	+	32.05	0.36	People (Sexism)
B2	76	0.03	13	0.01	+	29.69	2.03	Health
G1.1	2839	1.16	1682	0.98	+	29.63	0.24	Government
S1.1.1	479	0.2	219	0.13	+	28.51	0.61	Social Processes
E3-	940	0.38	491	0.29	+	28.33	0.42	Violent/Angry
W1	219	0.09	83	0.05	+	24.52	0.88	The
X6	50	0.02	7	0	+	23.01	2.32	Deciding
O1.1	337	0.14	153	0.09	+	20.65	0.62	Substances
N3.8	49	0.02	8	0	+	19.95	2.1	Measurement: speed
S4	741	0.3	395	0.23	+	19.55	0.39	Kin
E2-	276	0.11	122	0.07	+	18.8	0.66	Dislike
T3	161	0.07	66	0.04	+	14.28	0.77	Time: young (Royal Baby)
N5---	130	0.05	50	0.03	+	13.97	0.86	Quantities: little
Z8	26853	10.97	18144	10.59	+	13.26	0.05	Pronouns
B2-	423	0.17	223	0.13	+	12.02	0.41	Mental Health
N3.2+++	96	0.04	36	0.02	+	11.06	0.9	Size: Big
S1.1.4+	113	0.05	45	0.03	+	10.97	0.81	Deserving
Q4	326	0.13	168	0.1	+	10.68	0.44	The Media
S8+	1230	0.5	740	0.43	+	10.66	0.22	Helping
S3.2	270	0.11	135	0.08	+	10.51	0.48	Relationship: intimacy and sex
O4.2+	340	0.14	179	0.1	+	9.74	0.41	Judgement of Appearance, positive
Q4.1	127	0.05	57	0.03	+	8.15	0.64	The Media, books
I3.1	897	0.37	539	0.31	+	7.9	0.22	Work and employment, generally
I1.3+	31	0.01	6	0	+	7.59	1.58	Expensive
G1.1-	12	0	1	0	+	7.46	3.07	Non-governmental
X8++	7	0	0	0	+	7.43	3.29	Trying hard
G2.2-	482	0.2	276	0.16	+	7.17	0.29	Unethical
A5.1+	1239	0.51	767	0.45	+	7.17	0.18	Evaluation: good
X9.2+	385	0.16	215	0.13	+	7.15	0.33	Success
E4.2+	117	0.04	43	0.03	+	6.99	0.66	Content
T3++	43	0.01	11	0.01	+	6.8	1.18	Time: Old; grown-up
B3	248	0.08	107	0.06	+	6.8	0.43	Medicines and medical treatment

Z5	83688	28.5	47832	28.07	+	6.79	0.02	Grammatical bin
G1.1-	13	0	1	0	+	6.69	2.91	Non-governmental
X8++	7	0	0	0	+	6.41	3.02	Trying hard
O4.2++	7	0	0	0	+	6.41	3.02	Judgement of appearance: Positive
I3.2+	47	0.02	13	0.01	+	6.34	1.07	Professional
T1	674	0.23	332	0.19	+	6.06	0.24	Time
I3.1	1038	0.35	529	0.31	+	5.96	0.19	Work and employment: Generally,
O4.6-	36	0.01	9	0.01	+	5.94	1.21	Temperature: Cold
A1.1.2	439	0.15	208	0.12	+	5.92	0.29	Damaging and destroying
N5+	1168	0.4	602	0.35	+	5.63	0.17	Quantities: many/much
S8+	1412	0.48	736	0.43	+	5.6	0.15	Helping
Q4.2	389	0.13	183	0.11	+	5.6	0.3	The Media: Newspapers etc.
H1	208	0.07	90	0.05	+	5.6	0.42	Architecture, houses and buildings
A1.7+++	6	0	0	0	+	5.49	2.8	Constraint
N3.7+	183	0.06	78	0.05	+	5.4	0.44	Long, tall and wide
S7.1++	47	0.02	14	0.01	+	5.34	0.96	In power
A5.3-	364	0.12	172	0.1	+	5.03	0.3	Evaluation: Inaccurate
B2+	71	0.02	25	0.01	+	4.96	0.72	Healthy
A5.1+	1452	0.49	764	0.45	+	4.82	0.14	Evaluation: Good
Q2.2	3885	1.32	2126	1.25	+	4.71	0.08	Speech acts
S1.2.5+++	5	0	0	0	+	4.58	2.54	Tough/strong
B2-	468	0.16	229	0.13	+	4.54	0.25	Disease
Q4.3	186	0.06	82	0.05	+	4.43	0.4	The Media: TV, Radio
N3.7++	41	0.01	13	0.01	+	3.96	0.87	Long, tall and wide
T1.3+	149	0.05	65	0.04	+	3.81	0.41	Time period: long
S7.1--	9	0	1	0	+	3.74	2.38	No power
T1.3+++	4	0	0	0	+	3.66	2.21	Time period: long
O4.6	4	0	0	0	+	3.66	2.21	Temperature
I4	112	0.04	47	0.03	+	3.62	0.47	Industry
E2+	620	0.21	317	0.19	+	3.39	0.18	Like
N5	1242	0.42	663	0.39	+	3.02	0.12	Quantities
A6	14	0	3	0	+	2.98	1.44	Comparing
A1.3+	66	0.02	26	0.02	+	2.94	0.56	Cautious
I1.2+	11	0	2	0	+	2.91	1.67	Spending and money loss
A13.2	645	0.22	334	0.2	+	2.87	0.16	Degree: Maximizers
I1.1-	161	0.05	74	0.04	+	2.82	0.34	Money: Lack
X2.2+++	3	0	0	0	+	2.75	1.8	Knowledgeable
E4.1+++	3	0	0	0	+	2.75	1.8	Happy
A2.2+	3	0	0	0	+	2.75	1.8	Cause/Effect/Connected
S1.2.4+	160	0.05	74	0.04	+	2.67	0.33	Polite
H3	28	0.01	9	0.01	+	2.6	0.85	Areas around or near
N6	66	0.02	27	0.02	+	2.45	0.5	Frequency
E5+	92	0.03	40	0.02	+	2.4	0.42	Bravery
N5+++	262	0.09	129	0.08	+	2.37	0.24	Quantities: many/much
T2+++	49	0.02	19	0.01	+	2.35	0.58	Time: Beginning

N5++	873	0.3	464	0.27	+	2.34	0.13	Quantities: many/much
Z3	932	0.32	497	0.29	+	2.32	0.12	Other proper names
K5.2	38	0.01	14	0.01	+	2.25	0.66	Games
I3.2	95	0.03	42	0.02	+	2.22	0.39	Work and employment: Professionalism
S7.4-	67	0.02	28	0.02	+	2.21	0.47	Not allowed
E5-	263	0.09	131	0.08	+	2.07	0.22	Fear/shock
A5.1-	485	0.17	252	0.15	+	2.04	0.16	Evaluation: Bad
I1.1	848	0.29	453	0.27	+	2.03	0.12	Money and pay
T3+++	12	0	3	0	+	1.98	1.21	Time: Old; grown-up
A5.1	140	0.05	66	0.04	+	1.98	0.3	Evaluation: Good/bad
N6-	105	0.04	48	0.03	+	1.92	0.34	Infrequent
E2	26	0.01	9	0.01	+	1.92	0.74	Liking
A11.2-	26	0.01	9	0.01	+	1.92	0.74	Unnoticeable
L1-	342	0.12	175	0.1	+	1.85	0.18	Dead
Z7-	2	0	0	0	+	1.83	1.21	Unconditional
X5.1	2	0	0	0	+	1.83	1.21	Attention
X2.6	2	0	0	0	+	1.83	1.21	Expect
A1.5.1-	2	0	0	0	+	1.83	1.21	Unused
A1.1.2-	2	0	0	0	+	1.83	1.21	Fixing and mending
A11.1+	558	0.19	294	0.17	+	1.8	0.14	Important
X8+++	6	0	1	0	+	1.75	1.8	Trying hard
G3-	6	0	1	0	+	1.75	1.8	Anti-war
X2.2-	209	0.07	104	0.06	+	1.66	0.22	No knowledge
T4-	78	0.03	35	0.02	+	1.64	0.37	Time: Late
O2	1067	0.36	580	0.34	+	1.6	0.09	Objects generally
X2.5+	342	0.12	177	0.1	+	1.54	0.16	Understanding
K5	18	0.01	6	0	+	1.5	0.8	Sports and games generally
N3.5	63	0.02	28	0.02	+	1.42	0.38	Measurement: Weight
A4.1	744	0.25	401	0.24	+	1.42	0.11	Generally, kinds, groups, examples
T1.2	182	0.06	91	0.05	+	1.36	0.21	Time: Momentary
E4.1-	376	0.13	197	0.12	+	1.36	0.15	Sad
K4	154	0.05	76	0.04	+	1.35	0.23	Drama, the theatre and
S1.1.2+	99	0.03	47	0.03	+	1.31	0.29	Reciprocal
M8	175	0.06	88	0.05	+	1.21	0.21	Stationary
S1.2.1-	73	0.02	34	0.02	+	1.15	0.32	Formal/Unfriendly
E2+++	21	0.01	8	0	+	1.09	0.61	Like
A6.1+	626	0.21	339	0.2	+	1.05	0.1	Comparing: Similar
A6.2+	393	0.13	209	0.12	+	1.04	0.13	Comparing: Usual
A5.1--	78	0.03	37	0.02	+	1.04	0.29	Evaluation: Bad
A5.1++	250	0.09	130	0.08	+	1.04	0.16	Evaluation: Good
A5.2+	798	0.27	436	0.26	+	1.02	0.09	Evaluation: TRUE
O4.1	357	0.12	190	0.11	+	0.93	0.12	General appearance and physical
N3.7	81	0.03	39	0.02	+	0.93	0.27	Measurement: Length & height
A5.1+++	366	0.12	195	0.11	+	0.93	0.12	Evaluation: Good

X2.1+	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Thought, belief
T1.3++++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Time period: long
S7.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	In power
S5+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Belonging to a group
S3.2-	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Relationship: Asexual
S3-	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Relationship
S1.2.6---	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Foolish
S1.2.3++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Selfish
Q1.2-	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Unwritten
O4.6+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Temperature: Hot / on
O4.1+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	General appearance and physical
G1.1.1	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	
A13.6+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Degree: Diminishers
A13.3+++	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Degree: Boosters
A1.5.2	1	0	0	0	+	0.92	0.21	Usefulness
S9-	7	0	2	0	+	0.88	1.02	Non-religious
X3.1	48	0.02	22	0.01	+	0.86	0.34	Sensory: Taste
S7.3	46	0.02	21	0.01	+	0.85	0.35	Competition
A6.3+	67	0.02	32	0.02	+	0.84	0.28	Comparing: Varied
A10+	896	0.31	494	0.29	+	0.83	0.07	Open; Finding; Showing
X9.2	36	0.01	16	0.01	+	0.81	0.38	Success and failure
A6.1	61	0.02	29	0.02	+	0.8	0.29	Comparing: Similar/different
S1.2.5+	128	0.04	65	0.04	+	0.78	0.19	Tough/strong
A13.3	2053	0.7	1153	0.68	+	0.78	0.05	Degree: Boosters
I1.1---	9	0	3	0	+	0.75	0.8	Money: Lack
N3.8+	166	0.06	86	0.05	+	0.73	0.16	Speed: Fast
O4.5	125	0.04	64	0.04	+	0.67	0.18	Texture
X2.1-	4	0	1	0	+	0.66	1.21	Without thinking
I1.1--	4	0	1	0	+	0.66	1.21	Money: Lack
E1-	4	0	1	0	+	0.66	1.21	Unemotional
A2.1	4	0	1	0	+	0.66	1.21	Modify, change
N3.2++	31	0.01	14	0.01	+	0.62	0.36	Size: Big
A2.2-	29	0.01	13	0.01	+	0.62	0.37	Unconnected
T3-	376	0.13	204	0.12	+	0.6	0.1	Time: New and young
I1.1+++	19	0.01	8	0	+	0.6	0.46	Money: Affluence
C1	274	0.09	147	0.09	+	0.59	0.11	Arts and crafts
E4.2-	63	0.02	31	0.02	+	0.57	0.24	Discontent
G2.1+	74	0.03	37	0.02	+	0.55	0.21	Lawful
E3--	6	0	2	0	+	0.5	0.8	Violent/Angry
A6.2-	155	0.05	82	0.05	+	0.46	0.13	Comparing: Unusual
X2	93	0.03	48	0.03	+	0.44	0.17	Mental actions and processes
N3.8-	24	0.01	11	0.01	+	0.43	0.34	Speed: Slow
X9.1	22	0.01	10	0.01	+	0.42	0.35	Ability and intelligence
N3.3---	10	0	4	0	+	0.41	0.54	Distance: Near
A13.5	226	0.08	122	0.07	+	0.41	0.1	Degree: Compromisers
N3.3--	12	0	5	0	+	0.4	0.48	Distance: Near

T3---	83	0.03	43	0.03	+	0.37	0.16	Time: New and young
N1	1634	0.56	925	0.54	+	0.36	0.04	Numbers
O4.6+	95	0.03	50	0.03	+	0.31	0.14	Temperature: Hot / on
X5.1+	129	0.04	69	0.04	+	0.3	0.12	Attentive
N3.6	25	0.01	12	0.01	+	0.3	0.27	Measurement: Area
A1.8-	91	0.03	48	0.03	+	0.29	0.14	Exclusion
T2+	356	0.12	197	0.12	+	0.28	0.07	Time: Beginning
A1.8+	254	0.09	140	0.08	+	0.24	0.07	Inclusion
E1	140	0.05	76	0.04	+	0.22	0.1	Emotional Actions, States And
A6.2+++	5	0	2	0	+	0.21	0.54	Comparing: Usual
N3.5+	9	0	4	0	+	0.2	0.38	Weight: Heavy
A3	7	0	3	0	+	0.2	0.44	Being
X3.2-	90	0.03	49	0.03	+	0.13	0.09	Sound: Quiet
K2	99	0.03	54	0.03	+	0.13	0.09	Music and related activities
X3.4-	27	0.01	14	0.01	+	0.12	0.16	Unseen
S1.2.6+	68	0.02	37	0.02	+	0.1	0.09	Sensible
N6+++	192	0.07	108	0.06	+	0.07	0.04	Frequent
X5.1-	111	0.04	62	0.04	+	0.06	0.05	Inattentive
E6+	97	0.03	54	0.03	+	0.06	0.06	Confident
T4--	35	0.01	19	0.01	+	0.05	0.1	Time: Late
H2	200	0.07	113	0.07	+	0.05	0.04	Parts of buildings
X4.1	849	0.29	487	0.29	+	0.04	0.02	Mental object: Conceptual object
S1.2.1+	47	0.02	26	0.02	+	0.04	0.07	Informal/Friendly
I1.1++	6	0	3	0	+	0.04	0.21	Money: Affluence
G2.2+	297	0.1	169	0.1	+	0.04	0.03	Ethical
A6.1-	1462	0.5	841	0.49	+	0.04	0.01	Comparing: Different
X6-	4	0	2	0	+	0.03	0.21	Undecided
X2.4	319	0.11	182	0.11	+	0.03	0.02	Investigate, examine, test, search
N3.3+	103	0.04	58	0.03	+	0.03	0.04	Distance: Far
B4-	4	0	2	0	+	0.03	0.21	Dirty
A2.2	1438	0.49	828	0.49	+	0.03	0.01	Cause&Effect/Connection
A1.1.1-	4	0	2	0	+	0.03	0.21	Inaction
X7	2	0	1	0	+	0.01	0.21	Wanting; planning; choosing
T1.3++	23	0.01	13	0.01	+	0.01	0.04	Time period: long
S1.1.4-	2	0	1	0	+	0.01	0.21	Undeserving
I3.2-	9	0	5	0	+	0.01	0.06	Unprofessional
H4	258	0.09	148	0.09	+	0.01	0.02	Residence
E4.1---	2	0	1	0	+	0.01	0.21	Sad
A11.1---	2	0	1	0	+	0.01	0.21	Unimportant
A1.5.2+	37	0.01	21	0.01	+	0.01	0.03	Useful
A1.5.1+	2	0	1	0	+	0.01	0.21	Used
T1.1.2	1113	0.38	645	0.38	+	0	0	Time: Present; simultaneous

Q1.1	462	0.16	268	0.16	+	0	0	Linguistic Actions, States And
N3.1	42	0.01	24	0.01	+	0	0.02	Measurement: General
A5.3+	327	0.11	189	0.11	+	0	0.01	Evaluation: Accurate
A11.2+	133	0.05	77	0.05	+	0	0	Noticeable
A11.1++	7	0	4	0	+	0	0.02	Important
A1.1.1	4053	1.38	2351	1.38	+	0	0	General actions / making

Appendix 3 Tables of frequency of 'Crime' and 'Ethics' terms in the four experimental corpora

Appendix 3.1- Lemmas for Crime and Ethics in The Australian for Females (FA)

FA Crime (G 2.1-)				FA Ethics G2.2-)				
lemma	n	Stand-ardised	sq. root	font	lemma	n	Stand-ardised	sq. root	font
crime	49	49.4	7.0	70	shame	45	45.38	6.74	67
fraud	31	31.3	5.6	56	corrupt	34	34.29	5.86	59
steal	12	12.1	3.5	35	disgraceful	20	20.17	4.49	45
illegal	11	11.1	3.3	33	wrong	14	14.12	3.76	38
conspiracy	9	9.1	3.0	30	unfair	13	13.11	3.62	36
offence	9	9.1	3.0	30	misuse	10	10.08	3.18	32
guilty	12	12.1	3.5	35	thugs	10	10.08	3.18	32
hijack	6	6.1	2.5	25	scandal	8	8.07	2.84	28
theft	5	5.0	2.2	22	traitor	8	8.07	2.84	28
guilty	4	4.0	2.0	20	dodgy	6	6.05	2.46	25
break the law	3	3.0	1.7	17	cheat	4	4.03	2.01	20
outlaw	3	3.0	1.7	17	guilt	4	4.03	2.01	20
rob	3	3.0	1.7	17	improper	4	4.03	2.01	20
treason	3	3.0	1.7	17	rip_off	4	4.03	2.01	20
child abuse	2	2.0	1.4	14	sin	4	4.03	2.01	20
crook	2	2.0	1.4	14	abuser	3	3.03	1.74	17
mafia	2	2.0	1.4	14	exploit	3	3.03	1.74	17
perpetrator	2	2.0	1.4	14	fool	3	3.03	1.74	17
plunder	2	2.0	1.4	14	harassment	3	3.03	1.74	17
smuggle	2	2.0	1.4	14	ignominious	3	3.03	1.74	17
bribe	2	2.0	1.4	14	immoral	3	3.03	1.74	17
					betrayal	5	5.04	2.25	22
					caught_out	5	5.04	2.25	22
					con	5	5.04	2.25	22
					evil	5	5.04	2.25	22
					scam	5	5.04	2.25	22
					ashamed	2	2.02	1.42	14
					bribe	2	2.02	1.42	14
					deceit	2	2.02	1.42	14
					in_trouble	2	2.02	1.42	14
					infamy	2	2.02	1.42	14
					naughty	2	2.02	1.42	14
					rogue	2	2.02	1.42	14
					tax_dodge	2	2.02	1.42	14
					trick	2	2.02	1.42	14
					witch-hunt	2	2.02	1.42	14
Totals	**174**					**251**			

Appendix 3.2 - Lemmas for Crime and Ethics in *The Australian* for Males (*MA*)

MA - Crime (USAS G2.1-)					*MA* - Ethics (G 2.2-)				
lemma	n	Stand-ardised	sq. root	font	lemma	n	Stand-ardised	sq. root	font
illegal	15	15.8	4.0	39.8	trick	85	90	9	95
crime	10	10.6	3.2	32.5	shame	37	39.0625	6.25	62.5
conspiracy	7	7.4	2.7	27.2	sin	23	24	5	49
offence	6	6.3	2.5	25.2	fool	14	15	4	38
steal	5	5.3	2.3	23.0	betray	9	10	3	31
suspects	4	4.2	2.1	20.5	corrupt	9	10	3	31
guilty	4	4.2	2.1	20.5	wrong	9	10	3	31
plot	3	3.2	1.8	17.8	disgraceful	8	8	3	29
fraud	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	back_stabbing	7	7	3	27
blackmail	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	mischief	6	6	3	25
crook	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	deceit	5	5	2	23
incest	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	unfair	5	5	2	23
misdemeanor	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	caught_out	4	4	2	21
paedophiles	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	con	4	4	2	21
smugglers	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	dodgy	4	4	2	21
unlawful	2	2.1	1.5	14.5	perversion	4	4	2	21
					scam	4	4	2	21
					traitor	4	4	2	21
					treachery	4	4	2	21
					baiting	3	3	2	18
					in_trouble	3	3	2	18
					machinations	3	3	2	18
					naughty	3	3	2	18
					stitch_up	3	3	2	18
					unethical	3	3	2	18
					adultery	2	2	1	15
					conning	2	2	1	15
					evil	2	2	1	15
					misbehave	2	2	1	15
					misconduct	2	2	1	15
					nepotism	2	2	1	15
					ruthless	2	2	1	15
					stabbed_in-the back	2	2	1	15
					underhand	2	2	1	15
					unforgivable	2	2	1	15
Totals	**70**					**283**			

Appendix 3.3 - *Lemmas for Crime and Ethics in The Guardian for Females (FG)*

FGE Crime (G2.1-)					FG Ethics (G2.2-)				
lemma	n	Stand-ardised	Sq. root	Font size	lemma	n	Stand-ardised	Sq. root	Font size
crime	59	59.2	7.7	77	shame	117	117.5	10.8	108
terrorism	31	31.1	5.6	56	disgraceful	34	34.1	5.8	58
illegal	19	19.1	4.4	44	scandal	30	30.1	5.5	55
guilty	18	18.1	4.3	43	evil	26	26.1	5.1	51
conspiring	17	17.1	4.1	41	wrong	24	24.1	4.9	49
steal	15	15.1	3.9	39	betrays	22	22.1	4.7	47
plot	14	14.1	3.7	37	unfair	20	20.1	4.5	45
smuggler	11	11.0	3.3	33	bribe	18	18.1	4.3	43
child_abuse	10	10.0	3.2	32	ashamed	13	13.1	3.6	36
offense	10	10.0	3.2	32	trick	13	13.1	3.6	36
thief	9	9.0	3.0	30	fool	12	12.1	3.5	35
collusion	7	7.0	2.7	27	backstabbing	11	11.0	3.3	33
murderous	7	7.0	2.7	27	Dodgy	11	11.0	3.3	33
rape	7	7.0	2.7	27	sin	10	10.0	3.2	32
suspect	6	6.0	2.5	25	traitor	9	9.0	3.0	30
fraud	5	5.0	2.2	22	caught_out	7	7.0	2.7	27
convicts	4	4.0	2.0	20	duplicity	7	7.0	2.7	27
hijack	4	4.0	2.0	20	inhuman	7	7.0	2.7	27
robbed	4	4.0	2.0	20	cheat	6	6.0	2.5	25
subversion	4	4.0	2.0	20	deceit	6	6.0	2.5	25
injustice	3	3.0	1.7	17	opportunistic	6	6.0	2.5	25
perpetrator	3	3.0	1.7	17	unforgivable	6	6.0	2.5	25
vandals	3	3.0	1.7	17	exploit	5	5.0	2.2	22
bent.	2	2.0	1.4	14	nepotism	5	5.0	2.2	22
blackmail	2	2.0	1.4	14	con	4	4.0	2.0	20
crook	2	2.0	1.4	14	guilt	4	4.0	2.0	20
extortion	2	2.0	1.4	14	harassment	4	4.0	2.0	20
incriminating	2	2.0	1.4	14	immoral	4	4.0	2.0	20
malfeasance	2	2.0	1.4	14	in_trouble	4	4.0	2.0	20
ripper	2	2.0	1.4	14	ruthless	4	4.0	2.0	20
trafficking	2	2.0	1.4	14	stab_in the back	4	4.0	2.0	20
					thugs	4	4.0	2.0	20
					amoral	3	3.0	1.7	17
					cronyism	3	3.0	1.7	17
					discredited	3	3.0	1.7	17
					misuse	3	3.0	1.7	17
					naughty	3	3.0	1.7	17
					scam	3	3.0	1.7	17
					unethical	3	3.0	1.7	17
					barbarian	2	2.0	1.4	14

cardinal_sin	2	2.0	1.4	14
conniving	2	2.0	1.4	14
degradation	2	2.0	1.4	14
depraved	2	2.0	1.4	14
fall_into	2	2.0	1.4	14
henchman	2	2.0	1.4	14
improper	2	2.0	1.4	14
infamy	2	2.0	1.4	14
machinations	2	2.0	1.4	14
malevolent	2	2.0	1.4	14
misconduct	2	2.0	1.4	14
perversion	2	2.0	1.4	14
rip_off	2	2.0	1.4	14
rogue	2	2.0	1.4	14
sinned	2	2.0	1.4	14
under_a_cloud	2	2.0	1.4	14
Totals 286		**514**		

Appendix 3.4 *Lemmas for Crime and Ethics in The Guardian for Males (MG)*

MG Crime (G 2.1-)					*MG* Ethics G2.2-)				
lemma	n	stand-ardised	sq. root	font	lemma	n	stand-ardised	sq. root	font
crime	20	20.9	4.6	46	shame	49	51.1	7.2	72
steal	16	16.7	4.1	41	corrupt	18	18.8	4.3	43
terrorism	14	14.6	3.8	38	evil	13	13.6	3.7	37
illegal	13	13.6	3.7	37	disgraced	10	10.4	3.2	32
offence	11	11.5	3.4	34	dodgy	10	10.4	3.2	32
guilty	8	8.4	2.9	29	wrong	10	10.4	3.2	32
suspect	8	8.4	2.9	29	fool	8	8.4	2.9	29
theft	8	8.4	2.9	29	scandal	8	8.4	2.9	29
fraud	7	7.3	2.7	27	sin	8	8.4	2.9	29
vandal	7	7.3	2.7	27	trick	8	8.4	2.9	29
conspiracies	6	6.3	2.5	25	in_trouble	7	7.3	2.7	27
crook	6	6.3	2.5	25	opportunistic	7	7.3	2.7	27
rob	6	6.3	2.5	25	bribe	5	5.2	2.3	23
break_the_law	5	5.2	2.3	23	con	5	5.2	2.3	23
rape	5	5.2	2.3	23	thugs	5	5.2	2.3	23
plot	4	4.2	2.0	20	traitors	5	5.2	2.3	23
child_abuse	3	3.1	1.8	18	unfair	5	5.2	2.3	23
paedophile	3	3.1	1.8	18	betray	4	4.2	2.0	20
smugglers	3	3.1	1.8	18	malevolent	4	4.2	2.0	20
defamation	2	2.1	1.4	14	adultery	3	3.1	1.8	18
extortion	2	2.1	1.4	14	barbarian	3	3.1	1.8	18
hijack	2	2.1	1.4	14	cheat	3	3.1	1.8	18
looting	2	2.1	1.4	14	exploit	3	3.1	1.8	18
outlaw	2	2.1	1.4	14	fall_into	3	3.1	1.8	18
treason	2	2.1	1.4	14	misuse	3	3.1	1.8	18
					naughty	3	3.1	1.8	18
					unethical	3	3.1	1.8	18
					whore	3	3.1	1.8	18
					atrocities	2	2.1	1.4	14
					backstabbing	2	2.1	1.4	14
					connive	2	2.1	1.4	14
					creep	2	2.1	1.4	14
					deceit	2	2.1	1.4	14
					improper	2	2.1	1.4	14
					inhumane	2	2.1	1.4	14
					misconduct	2	2.1	1.4	14
					perversion	2	2.1	1.4	14
					ruthless	2	2.1	1.4	14
					shifty	2	2.1	1.4	14

			sinister	2	2.1	1.4	14
			sordid	2	2.1	1.4	14
Totals	**165**			**242**			

Appendix 4   Key for coding of graduation within the comments

Form of graduation	Examples
1. inscribed or explicit **judgement**	*ugly, delightful, clever (adj), an idiot, a gem (n), bullies favours (v), lazily, stupidly(adv)*
2. **intensification** whether inscribed lexical, or isolated. Upper case text is marked as intensified also.	*Very, extremely, totally, always, never(adv), complete, utter (adj).*
3. **Saturation** either through exact repetition or paraphrase, whether distributed or clustered. Redundant information	*A rotten, stinking moron of an incompetent idiot* *A delightfully pleasing surprise that we didn't expect.*
4. **Softeners/ mitigators**	*Gave her a bit of a tap, might've drunk a few, doesn't everybody?*
5. **Elaboration**, in the form of progressively extended arguments	*SHY can only deflect and attempt to play the gender AND race card.*

Appendix 5   Procedures for data collection

1. Image shows search within Google Advanced search (https://www.google.com.au/advanced_search using politician's surname. Search can be limited to the title of the page and time period of search delimited.

2. Original article showing comment icon alongside social media icons, highlighted in green. https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/07/labor-urges-senate-to-disallow-george-brandis-veto-over-legal-advice-requests#comments)

3. Comments Section at bottom of article.

4. Sample output of Outwit hub pro. Type of information to be collected must be specified by scraping html code immediately before and after an example of the type of information required. Headings are specified by the analyser. Columns identifying the commenter were deleted when the data was transferred to an excel file.